INTRODUCTION

Sanskrit Literature for our practical purposes can be classified under two main heads : (i) *Vedic* and (ii) *Post-Vedic*—this latter including the epics, the *Purāṇas,* the whole bulk of *classical literature,* the various *Sūtra* works and the commentaries thereon, and what not. Works under both these heads have been laid under contribution in the present Selections ; and the reader will, therefore, do well to have some acquaintance with the extent, the nature, the contents and also the style of the literature represented in these extracts.

The term *Veda,* in its narrowest sense, is used to designate groups of incantations, prose formulae, or chants. We have five such complilations, called *Saṁhitās,* handed down to us in various recensions. Of these the *Ṛg-Veda* and the *Sāma-Veda* are wholly metrical, comprising about 10,600 and 1600 stanzas respectively. The stanzas in the latter are most of them taken over from the former and set to music. The *Atharva-Veda* is partly in prose and partly in verse ; and the same is the case with the remaining two compilations both of which belong to the *Yajur-Veda.* One of these is known as the *Vājasaneyi* (or the *White Yajus*) *Sāṁhitā* and comprises merely verses and formulae to be employed in sacrifices. The other, on the other hand, contains not merely the verses and the formulae, but also the explanations-scattered all through it ; and is on that account designated the *Kṛṣṇa Yajus Saṁhitā.* As none of these *saṁhitas* has been drawn upon in our Selections we may pass on to the next important class of Vedic works, the *Brāhmaṇaṣ.*

From the adjoining table it may be observed that only about 16 or 17 works of this class have come down to us, though from citations in different works the number of these works would appear to be much larger. It is certain

VEDIC LITERATURE
(*from the Saṁhitās* to the *Upaniṣads.*)

Veda	Sākhā	Saṁhitā	Brāhmaṇa	Āraṇyaka	Upaniṣad
Ṛg-Veda.	1. Sakala	Sākala	...	...	...
	2. Aitareyin	...	Aitareya	Aitareya	Aitareya
	3. Bāṣkala	...	...	...	Bāṣkala
	4. Kauśītakin	...	Kauṣītaki (or Sāṇkhāyana)	Sāṇkhāyana	Kausītaki
Yajur-Veda, Kṛṣṇa	1. Kāṭhaka	Kāṭhaka	Kāṭhaka	...	Kāṭhaka (or Kaṭha)
	2. Taittrīya	Taittirīya	Taittirīya	Taittirīya	i Taittirīya ii Mahānārāyaṇa
	3. Maitrāyaṇī	Maitrāyaṇī	...	...	Maitrāyanī (or Maitrī)
	4. Kapiṣṭhalakaṭha	Kapiṣṭhala	...	...	...
	5. Śvetāśvatara		...	...	Śvetāśvatara
Yajur-Veda, Śukla	1. Mādhyandinīya	Mādhyandinīya	Śatapatha	Bṛhadāraṇyaka	i Bṛhadāraṇyaka ii Īśāvasya (or Īśa)
	2. Kāṇva	Kāṇva	Śatapatha	Bṛhadāraṇyaka	i Bṛhadāraṇyaka ii Īśāvasya (or Īśa)

Sāma-Veda	1. Tāṇḍin	Kauthuma	i Tāṇḍya	...	..
			(or pañcaviṁśa)		...
			ii Saḍviṁśa	...	...
			iii Sāmavidhāna	...	...
			iv Ārṣeya	...	
			v Mantra	...	Chāndogya
			vi Devatādhyāya		...
			vii Vamśa		...
			viii Samhitopaniṣad		
			...	...	
	2. Rāṇāyaniya	Rāṇāyanīya	Jaiminīya	...	
	3. Jaiminīya or	Jaiminīya	Talavakāra	...	Kena
	Talavakāra)		Ārṣeya	...	
Atharva-Veda	1. Śaunaka	Śaunaka	Gopatha	...	i Praśna
					ii Muṇḍaka
	2. Pippalāda	Pippalāda			iii Māṇḍūkya &c. &c.
			...	...	...

that many works of this class—as indeed in all the branches of Sanskrit literature—are irrevocably lost to us. Even among those that have come down to us, however, it must be noted that only some seven or eight appear to be old enough and worthy of the name *Bṛāmaṇas.* The lower limit for the age of the *Brānmaṇas* can be determined by the fact that *Yāska* in his *Nirukta* quotes from even the *Gopatha Brāmaṇa* which is admittedly the latest of the important *Brāhmaṇas.* Their upper-most limit, however, is not so easy to determine, because it is approximately co-terminus with the close of the *Saṁhitā period* which itself has been variously tossed about between 6000 B.C. and 1200 B.C. Nor is it possible to assign each of these works severally to any definite date, for the simple reason that most of them are more or less works of composite nature so that so far as the date problem is concerned we have to follow the analytical rather than the synthetical method. It may, however, be noted that on the strength of some astronomical data the *Taitiriya* and the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇas* have by some scholars been placed as far back at 3000 B.C.

Divergent views are held regarding the derivation and the original conception of the term *Brāhmaṇa.* Max Muller derives it from *Brāhmaṇa* (*Brahman* priest in particular) and declares that these works are so called because they are theological tracts comprising knowledge much valued by the *Brāhmaṇas.* According to Haug, who accepts the above derivation, *Brāhmaṇas* primarily signified collections of dicta of the *Brāhmaṇas* on several topics connected mainly with sacrifices and came later on to mean the collections of such dicta. Winternitz declares the derivation of this term to be doubtful and would derive it equally plausibly from *Brahman* (m), *Brahman* (n̈), or even from *Brāhmaṇa.* He holds that the primary signification of the term is explanation or utterance of the learned priest, of a doctor of the science of sacrifice, upon any point, and that its application to the collections of such

utterance is only secondary. We may agree with Winternitz in deriving the term from *Brahman* (n), meaning 'Sacred speech, prayer, or sacred knowledge' and hold that it primarily applied to 'a work containing explanations of the *Brahmans* i.e. *Vedic mantras* or prayers.' In fact the term *Brāhmaṇa* is actually used in this sense in the *Brāhmaṇas* themselves. The *Brāhmaṇas* are thus practical treatises explaining the employment of the mantras in various sacrifices ; and are, as such, purely exegetical and theological texts.

The *Brāhmaṇas*, however, are found to make a free use of aetiological devices such as fantastic etymologies, traditions preserved in legends, and assumption of mystic equations—a circumstance which is responsible for the adverse opinions passed on them by several scholars European as well as Indian. Thus, to quote only two scholars, Max Müller declares the greater portion of these works to be 'theological twaddle,' while Winternitz remarks that 'they are unpalatable reading.' No one, however, disputes the view that they are indispensable for the understanding of the whole of the religious and philosophical literature of the Indians, and highly interesting for the general science of religion. The importance of this class of works can, however, be fully realised only when it is pointed out that the non-theological matter scattered all through them form the bed-rock of various sciences such as philosophy, astronomy and astrology, history, geography, philology, sociology, and ethics which are fully developed in a later age.

Whereas the *Brāhmaṇas* are concerned mainly with sacrifices and various details of the sacrificial cult, the *Āraṇyakas* and more particularly the *Upaniṣads* (which form the concluding portions of the *Brāhmaṇas*) are mainly philosophical in their outlook. On account of their peculiar position in the *Veda* i.e. Vedic literature it is that they are generally called the *Vedānta*. Many of the *Upaniṣads* are composite works and as such it is not possible

to assign them severally to any definite date. In general, however, it may be observed that the oldest of them are *pre-Buddhistic* since whereas they know nothing about Buddha and his teaching they are pre-supposed by *Buddhism*. The uppermost limit of the *Upaniṣadic period* may be only vaguely determined as synchronising with the close of the *Brāhmaṇa period* on the strength of the fact that they, in several cases, form the concluding portions of the Brāhmaṇas.

The word *Upaniṣad* is to be derived from the root *sad* with *upa* and *ni* ; and primarily means '*A secret session*' out of which was developed the secondary sense of '*secret doctrine.*' In the *Upaniṣads* themselves the term is used in three different senses ; (i) 'Mystic sense' e.g. the secret significance of the syllable *Om* ; (ii) 'Secret word' such as *tajjalān* which can be understood only by the initiated ; and (iii) 'Secret text' i.e. 'esoteric doctrine' and 'secret knowledge.'

The exact number of the works belonging to this class is not definitely known. In his *Upaniṣad-mahāvākya-kośa* Pundit Sadhale has laid under contribution as many as 239 works which style themselves as *Upaniṣads*. The learned Pundit informs me that he has received information about the existence of a hundred and odd more works which profess to belong to this class. It is, however, evident that several of these works belong to a very late date. In fact in one of the *Upaniṣads* we are actually given a list of *Upaniṣads* numbering 108, which clearly shows that such of the *Upaniṣads* as do not find any mention in this list must belong to a later date. The first ten in this list are generally accepted as being the oldest of the lot ; and have been commented upon by the great philosopher commentator *Saṅkarācārya*. Hume adds three more viz. the *Kauśitaki*, the *Śvetāśvatara*, and the *Maitrī Upaniṣads* to these ten, and calls these together '*The Thirteen Principal Upaniṣads.*'

Attempts have been made to classify the *Upaniṣads*

on the basis of the *Veda* to which they belong. But some *Upaniṣads* like the *Śvetāśvatara* for example, are assigned to more *Vedas* than one even by traditions ; while several ones have been assigned to the *Atharva-Veda* only because they could not *conveniently* be assigned to any one of the other three *Vedas*. It is, therefore, necessary to find out some other and more definite criterion for the classification of the *Upaniṣads*. And Deussen caught hold of their external form and discovered four different classes among the Upaniṣadic works, viz. (*i*) *The Ancient Prose Upaniṣads* comprising the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, the *Chāndogya*, the *Taitirīya*, the *Aitareya*, the *Kauśītaki*, and the *Kena* ; (*ii*) *The Early Metrical Upaniṣads* viz. the *Kaṭha*, the *Iśa*, the *Svetāśvatara*, and the *Mahānārāyaṇa*, (*iii*) *The Later Prose Upaniṣads* viz. the *Praśna*, the *Maitri*, and the *Māṇḍūkya* ; and lastly (*iv*) *The Āṭharvaṇa Upaniṣads* viz. the sectarian *Upaniṣads* dealing with *saṁnyāsa*, *yoga*, etc. It must, however, be noted that external form is not a very sound and safe criterion for determining the relative chronology of these texts. Taking his stand, therefore, on the fact that the *Upaniṣads* are a continuation of and at the same time a breaking away from the tone and thought of the Brahmanic period, Dr. Belvalkar proposes to classify the *Upaniṣads* into the following four groups : (i) *Brahmanic*, (ii) *Brahmanico-upaniṣadic*, (iii) *Upaniṣadic*, and (iv) *Neo-Upaniṣadic*—each of these again being further sub-divided into early, middle and late sections. But even in this connection it has to be observed that this classification—more scientific as it appears to be has its own short-comings and difficulties, not to speak of the complicacies involved therein.

The *Upaniṣads* contain such heterogeneous matters and ideas that they can hardly be said to give a succinct system of philosophy as such. They in fact may be said to represent the creative period of Indian Philosophy. In them are to be found roots not only of *absolute monism* and other system of the *Vedānta*, nor again of the other system

of philosophy such as the *Sāṁkhya*, the *Yoga*, and the *Nyāya*, but also of the heretical systems like those of Cārvāka and Buddha. The *Upaniṣads* are, in fact, the soil on which the whole crop of our later philosophy has flourished. It may also be interesting to note that the mystical doctrines of the *Upaniṣads* can be traced down to the present day and in several parts of the world ; and what Ludwig Stein calls 'the philosophy of the present' was already the philosophy of the Ancient India three thousand years ago.

Before passing on to the next branch of literature we may note some of the fundamental doctrines which are found to pervade all the genuine *Upaniṣads*. And the most prominent of these has been very exquisitely declared by Deussen in the following words : The *Brahman*, the power which presents itself to us materialised in all existing things, which creates, sustains, preserves and receives back into itself again all worlds, this eternal, infinite, divine power is identical with the *Ātman*, with that which, after stripping off everything external we discover in ourselves as our real, most essential being, our individual self, the soul ! All this is very tersely stated in the *Upaniṣads* in the three words *Tat tvam asī*. Equally important is the metaphysical doctrine of *Ātman* which involves the deep ethical idea that all love is at its bottom the love of the universal soul which is present in each individual. The world according to the *Upaniṣads* exists in *Brahman*, and has no separate existence of its own as apart from it. This idea about the world brought in its wake contempt and utter disregard of all mundane matters and a sense of dissatisfaction with the existing state of things. And the emphasis laid by the *Upaniṣads* on knowledge as the means of emancipation and also the doctrine of *Karma* only served to deepen this feeling of contempt and dissatisfaction when once it arose. The *Upaniṣads*, therefore, appear to be pessimistic in their outlook to many a critic. 'But the pessimism of the *Upaniṣads* is the condition of all philo-

sophy. Discontent prevails to enable man to effect an escape from it. If there is no way of escape, if no deliverance is sought after, then dissatisfaction is mischievous. The pessimism of the *Upaniṣads* has not developed to such an extent as to supress all endeavour and generate inertia.' The *Upaniṣads,* in fact far from being daunted by the treamels of the series of the wordly existence in the whirlpool of births and deaths, look upon them as succession of spiritual opportunities and hold out the ever-recurring promise of happiness and blessedness for him 'who knows this.'

Of the five extracts from the post-Vedic literature included in the present Selections, two are representative of Scientific literature and the remaining three represent prose romance, epic and inscriptions respectively. The *Arthaṣāstra,* which is represented by two chapters forming No. 4 is the science of *Artha* (the second of the four so called *puruṣārthas*) which means anything that is conducive to man's happiness in this world. This term has a very wide connotation and includes what at present we call political science, the duties of a king, and also the idea of punishment as the principal means of peace and happiness, and is, as such, known by different names such as *Nīti-śāstra, Rāja-dharma* or *Rāja-śāstra* or *Rājanīti,* and *Daṇḍa-nīti* respectively according as the one or the other of the above-mentioned of its aspects is emphasized. From the *Mahābhārata* and also from the work of *Kauṭilya* himself we know that *Kauṭilya* had had several predecessors in the field and that he had made full use of the works of them all. But unfortunately none of these ancient works on this science is extant, so much so that *Kauṭilya's Artha-śāstra* is the oldest work on this science that we are fortunate enough to have at present. The *Nītisāra* of *Kāmandaka,* a work bearing the same name composed by *Śukra,* and the *Nītiprakāśikā* are three other valuable works of this class which are known to us.

The fifth extract represents the philosophical litera-

ture of ancient India. Of the several systems—orthodox as well as heterodox—of philosophy that cropped up and flourished in India, the वेदान्त is by far the most important and at the same time popular. The ब्रह्मसूत्र (of बादरायण) is the most successful attempt to systematise the teaching of the उपनिषत्s. This work has been commented upon by several great आचार्यs who have propounded views widely differing from one another and professed at the same time that the view as propounded by them in the भाष्यs is the view of बादरायण. It is impossible that बादरायण should have held such widely diverging views simultaneously. But equally difficut it is to say whose views make the closet approach to those of बादरायण. Generally it is believed that रामानुज is more faithful to बादरायण than any other आचार्यs. But even this cannot be easily accepted unless a closer and comparative study of the भाष्यs is carried out in extenso, and a fuller consideration is given to the work of बादरायण himself in conjunction with the उपनिषद्s which form its bed-rock.

The next two extracts represent the Prose Romance and the Epic. It was once believed that Romance in Sanskrit developed under Greek influence. But now that view has been abandoned for good. कथा and आख्यायिका are two varieties of Romance in Sanskrit. They are represented by कादम्बरी and हर्षचरित respectively. The famous authors of this class of works are बाण, दण्डिन and सुबन्धु.

The epic is a class of literature by itself. The रामायण and the महाभारत are the two great epics of India. Of these particularly the latter has grown through several stages. In the epic itself we get the names जय, भारत and the महाभारत ascribed to व्यास, वैशम्पायन, and सूत (or सौति) respectively. This view of a definite number editions may not be found acceptable by all. But there is no doubt that the महाभारत as we have it at present is the result of the process of growth to which the original kernel of our great epic lent itself during the course of several centuries before the Christian Era. In the case of such works, critical edition forms a great problem. This has been discussed in the general note on the extract below.

Regarding Inscriptions also everything that is required to be known by a general student has been supplied in the general introduction to the *Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta* (N. 9). It may by the by be noted here that the Inscriptions throw a flood of light on the dark pages of the history of Ancient India and thus help us to refute effectively to some extent at least the charge that the Indians have no historical sense. They also show that there was a continuity of artistic literature in Ancient India in the early centuries of the Christian era and even in the centuries before it. The Inscription included in the present Selections may be said to represent artistic literature, of course in a very limited sense. But this point we shall discuss in a later paragraph.

Having thus far taken a broad survey of the literature that is represented in these extracts we shall now try to look at them from the point of view of language and style. And the first thing that we may notice about them is that they are mostly in prose though verses are found scattered here and there in some of them. The present Selections may, therefore, be said to place before us specimens of Sanskrit prose at different stages of development from several centuries before the Christian era down to the early centuries thereof. It may, therefore, be interesting to notice the development of Sanskrit prose through these centuries as evinced by the extracts before us and observe the salient characteristics thereof at the various stages of its development. Broadly speaking we may first find two distinct stages viz. the Vedic (represented by the first three extracts) and post-Vedic (represented by the last five). The former shows again two different sub-stages, Brahmanic and Upaniṣadic ; while the latter also so far as the present Selections are concerned, evinces three different varieties, scientific, epic and artistic. Let us now consider each of these stages and in the light of the illustrative extracts before us try to get an idea of the characteristic features of them all one by one.

The *Brāhmaṇas,* if we leave out of consideration some portions of the *Saṁhitās* of the *Atharva-Veda* and the *Yajur-Veda,* give us the oldest prose in Sanskrit. From the three extracts in the present Selections it may easily be observed that the prose in these works is very easy and simple, containing short pithy sentences without any artificial embellishments and hence for the most part free from ambiguity. Whatever difficulty is experienced while interpreting these works is not due to the working of the author so much, as to the great distance in time that separates us from him. This can very well be illustrated by passages like'का कीर्तिश्चिद् गवाम्।' 'त्यमिव वै घ्नती सरमा जारू खादति।' 'सोयं बभूव योऽयं वसन्ता भूतिकः प्रजायते।' occurring in the present extracts. Taking the age of the *Brāhmaṇas* into account, we may naturally expect to find some stylistic and grammatical peculiarities in them. Among the grammatical peculiarities may be noted the frequent use of (i) the imperative forms in *tāt,* (ii) particles like *ha, vai* or *vā, u,* and *nu ;* (iii) *un-Pāninian* forms like आस, (iv) the subjunctive forms, (v) wrong genders, numbers, and cases such as सरस्वत्यै for सरस्वत्याः. To these may be added two more viz. the separation of the prefix from the main verb in several cases as in सामावान्नाद्यं रुन्द्धे (p. 73) and the strictly careful and accurate use of the forms of the Perfect tense to denote an event of the remote past and that of the Aorist forms to speak of an action that is only recently completed. The occurrence of such words as कांतिः जारु, अश्लालजन्म, निष्ठावः,पतित्वनाय, नाकुलिभत्त्रा,असंज्ञा असर्वः,etc. and the रत् and स्र helps us to distinguish the language of the *Brāhmaṇas* from that of the later works. From stylistic point of view it is to be noted that the prose of these works is very crude and ragged and even elliptical. The substantive is often left out to be understood after an adjective which is used alone. Ellipsis is much more common when the conversational form is used. Thus instead of *'Tatheti sa uvāca'* we get only *'Tatheti.'* Similarly we find the verb *uvāca* or *uvāda* along with its subject left to be understood. Repetition of words and phrases and sometimes even of whole clauses is yet another

feature of the *Brāhmaṇas* particularly in their narrative portions as can very well be seen from the च्यवन कथा extracted here. The style of these works generally is found to vary according to the occasion and also perhaps to avoid monotony. Thus in the extracts before us we find the narrative and the conversational forms used alternately.

The *Upaniṣads* mark a further stage in the development of Vedic Sanskrit. From the extracts before us we see that the prose of the *Upaniṣads* retains some of the features of the prose of the *Brāhmaṇas*. Thus, for example, we find that the Upaniṣadic prose is still quite simple without any attempt at artificial embellishments as seen in classical literature in later ages. Absence of long sentences and involved constructions or even very long compounds is too conspicuous to require any mention. There are, therefore, few difficulties of interpretation that can be said to be due to the author's workmanship. Not that there are no difficulties of interpretation presented by the *Upaniṣads*. But the difficulties that we meet with are due often to the abstruseness of the subject-matter. Cases are not wanting where the colloquial style renders the construction and therefore the sense of a sentence ambiguous. Such for example is the sentence '*Kām v are enem etat santam* etc.' Difficulties also crop up when the *Upaniṣad* plunges into the sphere of the mystic, as, for example, the *Chāndogya* does in '*Te vā ete pañcānye* etc.' Passages like '*Yathā kṛtāya vijitāya* etc.' present difficulties not so much because they contain any difficult words but simply because we are removed from the *Upaniṣad* not only in time but also in spirit. Archaisms, irregularities of syntax and order of words, use of particles like *ha* and *vā* and peculiar vocabulary are the features which the *Upaniṣads* have in common with the *Brāhmaṇas*. These have been pointed out in the notes. We must, however, note the main points of difference between the prose of the *Upaniṣads* and that of the *Brāhmaṇas*. And the first point that even a casual reader of the *Upaniṣads* will

hardly fail to notice is the prominent use of illustrations in the form of what rhetoricians would call *upamā* or *dṛṣṭānta*. These are very rare in the *Brāhmaṇas*. The reason for such a phenomenon is not far to seek. For the *Brāhmaṇas* treated of something concrete which hardly stood in need of any illustrations or embellishments. Such, however, was not the case with the *Upaniṣads* which had to treat of abstract ideas like *Brahman, Ātman,* creation, and a number of other problems which certainly required to be simplified and elucidated before they could be grasped. Thus, for example, we see how *Āruṇi* had to give several illustrations to bring home to his son, *Svetaketu,* his doctrine about the *ādeśa* by which *aśrutaṁ śrutam bhavaty amatam matam avijñātaṁ vijnātaṁ' ;* and several other illustrations to impress on him the other doctrines very well compressed in the sentence '*Sa ya eṣo*—' *ṇimā aitadātmyam idaṁ sarvam tat satyam sa ātmā tat tvam asi śvetaketo.*'..Simplicity, directness and force of style, use of repetition for impressing a particular idea on the mind of the reader, constant variation in the form, from narrative to conversational, from conversational to dialectical, and from dialectical to deliberative, helps not only to sustain the reader's interest but also to make the language more appealing and forceful, and the subject-matter easier to grasp.

Post-Vedic Sanskrit prose is represented in the present Selections by extracts from the works of *Kauṭilya* and *Sañkarācārya* on the one hand,कादम्बरी the epic, and the inscription on the other. The two former may be said to represent what may be called Scientific prose i.e. the prose of works treating of some technical or scientific subject, while the rest give us an idea of the prose of artistic literature. The prose as it is found in all these has, however, some features in common which help us to distinguish it from the prose in Vedic works. Thus, for example, unlike the Vedic prose, the post-Vedic prose has few archaisms if any. More often than not there is a tendency to abide

by the rules of *Pāñini's* grammer. Absence of absolete words, a definite tendency to use the infinitives in *tum* and such other forms to the exclusion of their other equivalents current and common in Vedic Sanskrit, absence of the subjunctive and the injunctive are some of the features which may be found to be common to all these passages.

We can, however, easily distinguish between the prose of the Artha-śāstra and theशांकर भाष्य on the one hand and that of the other extracts on the other. The prose in the former is very terse and forceful. The *Artha-śāstra,* as *Kauṭilya* himself has told us, in *Sutra* and *Bhāṣya* style. Naturally, therefore, the language is as terse as it could be. The very fact that the work is dealing with some scientific (i.e. serious) subject-matter makes all the difference. In such works there is little scope for embellishments and flights of imagination. The language there is bound to be cut and dry, pointed and straightforward, terse and lucid. And so indeed is the language in the *Artha-śāstra.* Very often as in the *sūtras* so in the Artha-śāstra a number of words are left to be understood, and have to be supplied by referring to the context. Thus, for example, the verb is left out in several sentences, e.g. तत्र स्वाभिसम्पत् etc. Sentences like अन्यंत्रं पतितेभ्यः। अन्यत्र मातुः। amply illustrate how other words also are often left out. But it must be noted that this tendency of terseness is not allowed to stand in the way of perspicuity. The text runs quite smoothly in a flowing chain of short simple sentences ; and one hardly comes across any difficulty of language as such while reading it. But we can't be blind to the fact that the *Artha-śāstra* is a technical work and as such must have several technical words employed in it. It is not unnatural, therefore, if we come across difficult or unusual words which would tax our brain and more often than not prove very hard nuts to crack. To add to this is the circumstance that we are far removed in point of time from this famous work, which also helps to add to the difficulties of interpretation in several cases. Such, for

example, are the sentences निवृत्तपरिहारान् पितेवानुगृह्णीयात्। or अकृषन्तोऽपहीनं दद्युः। or दासाहितकबन्धूनश्रण्वतो etc. The chapter extracted in the present Selections are, fortunately, not too technical ; and hence we are on the whole better able to follow them than some other parts of *Kauṭilya's Artha-śāstra.* But even in these chapters technical terms are not altogether absent ; and before we can understand their exact signification we have to compare all the passages where they have been used in the *Artha-śāstra. Kauṭilya* hardly uses a word that is not absolutely necessary with the result that his style has acquired a peculiar force and terseness befitting a technical work. As a general rule embellishments are conspicuous by their absence in the *Artha-śāstra.* Lastly we may note the thoroughness with which *Kauṭilya* handles his subject, section by section. Thus in both the chapters extracted here we see how *Kauṭilya* has given us full information regarding the topic dealt therein. The verses, which are found generally at the end of the *adhyāya* as in the present extracts, are for the most part quite simple and in several cases are meant not merely to summarize the matter treated of in the preceding prose sections, but even to add a few details.

Coming to the extract from the *Bhāṣya* of शंकराचार्य we see how it resembles the *Artha-śāstra* in some respects and yet differs from it in others. It is written in what may be called the dialectical style which is peculiar to all philosophical works. Brevity or terseness, avoiding the use of the verb as far as possible, abundant use of abstract nouns ending in *tā* or *tva* and expressions in the Ablative, brisk questions and answers, and thoroughness of discussion—these may be pointed out as the special features of this style. The subject-matter being of a technical nature, there is hardly any scope here also for flights of imagination and other embellishments. Naturally, therefore, the style in this kind of prose is direct and simple, and at the same time forceful and impressive. As in the *Artha-śāstra* so also in these works the difficulties when-

ever we are confronted with them are not of the author's making. They are primarily the result of the technical nature of the subject treated. This we can very well realise when we read sentences like यथा च श्रुतीनां परस्परविरोधे सत्येकवशेनेतरा नीयन्ते etc., दृष्टसाम्येन चादृष्टमर्थं etc., or नास्य प्रतिषेधस्य प्रतिषेध्यमस्ति or अत्यल्पं चेदम्युच्यते etc. These sentences and a host of others like them apparently present no difficulty to a superficial reader. And yet a reference to the notes on these will show how these are charged with a depth of meaning, of course technical, which one who is not properly introduced to the subject can hardly even dream of. Technical words like एकान्त, दृष्टान्त, कार्यकारणानन्यत्वन्याय, तक, दोष etc. are, of course, quite common and make the passage very hard to understand for the uninitiated reader. One more factor which must be noted as adding to the difficulty of such works is the appearance of syllogisms expressed or implied almost at every step. Both the parties are found putting forth a syllogical statement in support of the view they want to propound and at the same time trying to find out the flaws in the arguments put forth by their opponents. To be able to understand such rallies it is absolutely necessary that the reader must have some idea of the *nyāya* syllogism or *anumāna* and its various parts. He must also have a sharpness of intellect to follow the niceties that are often revealed in such discussions. To such a gifted reader these philosophical treatises are a mine of an exhaustless intellectual joy ; but to the less fortunate one all this pleasure is lost with the result that he may at times be even tired of the whole thing. From this point of view the style of the शाङ्कर भाष्य and other works of its kind differs very widely from that of works like the *Artha-śāstra*. There are other stylistic peculiarities exhibited by all philosophical works and these have been noticed in the notes.

The prose in the Inscriptions and in the Romances (e.g. कादम्बरी) bears a good contrast not only to that of the Vedic works like the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Upaniṣads* but

also to that of the technical or scientific works like the *Artha-śāstra* and the शांकर भाष्य The most glaring difference that one can easily notice between the two is the presence of long sentences, involved constructions, unusually long compounds, and deliberate use of rhetorical embellishments, all of which are conspicuous by their absence in the types of prose that we have noticed up to now. The Allahabad Pillar Inscription, if we leave out of consideration the nine stanzas and the last two sentences (which are of the nature of a colophon), consists of only one very long sentence running through not less than 30 lines in print. On reading it one may easily be reminded of the style of that master of Sanskrit prose, *Bāṇa*. As in the works of *Bāṇa,* so also here, we see that the verb is not only kept back to the end of the sentence, but is left out altogether to be supplied by the reader. Like *Bāṇa* again has *Hariṣeṇa,* the author of the inscription, made up his sentence by weaving together a number of epithets describing *Samudragupta's* achievements of head and heart, his geneology, and his fame. *Hariṣeṇa* has also made use of very long compounds (alongside of some short ones also) the longest of them covering the length of as many as five lines. Nor is he slow to make use of rhetorical embellishments both of sound as well as of sense and is by no means afraid of indulging in hyperbolical statements comparing his patron to various divinities like *Viṣṇu, Indra,* D*hanada* and *Bṛhuspati.* These features do, indeed, go to a long way make his style more difficult as compared with that of the other Vedic and post-Vedic works. But the real difficulty in the prose of the Inscriptions lies in their references to historical personages, and events, and also the names of places and lands as they were current in Ancient India. These, for want of any adequate information, it becomes often very hard to identify. Such references, therefore, may be said to be at once the strength and also the weakness of the Inscriptions. For the main importance of the Inscriptions lies to a great extent in the historical and the geographical infor-

mation they supply us with ; but when we find ourselves quite unable to make head or tail of these references supplied by them the situation is embrassing indeed !

The prose in the epic is, of course, very simple and bears a great contrast to that of the Romances and the Inscriptions. The main reason for this seems to be closer contact with the masses. Authors like बाण wrote more for the Pundits than for the masses. Inscriptions were meant for the masses no doubt ; but they were composed evidently by the learned prote'ge's of the ruling princes in imitation of famous writers. The epics were, however, recited from time to time and from place to place and were intended to influence the people at large. This naturally has greatly influenced the epic style which appears to care more for perspicuity than for anything else, even grammer. This explains the simplicity of epic prose and at the same time abundance of *un-Paninian* forms and constructions therein. The style of the epics is verbal, that of the Romances is nominal while that of अर्थशास्त्र and शांकर भाष्य may be said to lie mid-way.

After this broad survey of the development of Sanskrit prose from the *Brāhmaṇas* down to the early centuries of the Christian era a few words must be said about the combination of prose and verse in one and the same work, which, though evinced from very early times, becomes yet more marked when we come to classical literature. There the prose as well as the metrical portions in a work are found to be equally important and essential for the purposes of the narration, so much so that such a combination came at last to be recognised as a form by itself under the name of *Campū*. Though the earliest work of this class that is known to us so far belongs only to the tenth century, [and the earliest rhetorician to define it is *Daṇḍin* (beginning of the 7th century A.D.)] yet it may be observed that the earliest origin of this class of works can be traced back to great antiquity in the tendency to strew

prose works with short verses as in the *Brāhmaṇas*, and also to the tendency to use prose and verse promiscuously in one and the same work without any special purposes behind them as seen in some of the Inscriptions.

Intermediate Sanskrit Selections

1 A

जैमिनीयब्राह्मणम् २. ४३८–४४०

अथ ह वै पणयो नामासुरा देवानां गोरक्षा आसुः । ताभिरहा-
पातस्थुः । ता ह रसायां निरुध्य वलेनापिदधुः ॥ १ ॥ ते देवा अति-
कुप्य लेपुः । ‘ सुपर्ण, इमा नो गा अन्विच्छ ’ इति । ‘ तथा ’ इति स   ३
हानुप्रपपात ॥ २ ॥ ता हान्वाजगाम रसायामन्तर्वलेनापिहिताः । तस्मै
हान्वागताय सर्पिः क्षीरमामिक्षां दधीत्येतदुपानिदधुः । तस्य ह सुहित
आस । तं होचुः । ‘ सुपर्ण, एष एव ते बलिर्भविष्यत्येतदन्नम् । मा नः   ६
प्रवोचः ’ इति ॥ ३ ॥ स ह पुनरापपात । तं होचुः । ‘ सुपर्ण, अविदो
गाः ’ इति । ‘ का कीर्तिश्चिद्गवाम् ’ इति होवाच ॥ ४ ॥ ‘ एषैव

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1 A

Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa II. 438-440.

(1) Now, verily *asuras* named *Paṇis* were the cow-herds of gods. With them (i. e. the cows) they once went away. Penning them at the *Rasā* verily they hid them in a cave. (2) Thus (robbed of the cows) the gods, being highly enraged, said : ‘*Suparṇa*, search after these cows of ours.’ ‘So (shall I do,’ said *Suparṇa ;* and) verily flew forth after them. (3) He came unto them hidden in a cave at the *Rasā*. Near unto him, verily, come unto (them as he was), they put down (i. e. offered) this viz. clarified butter, milk, *āmikṣā* (and) curds. He was, verily, well satisfied with this. Unto him (the *Paṇis*) said : ‘*Suparṇa*, this same, i. e. this food shall be your share. Do not disclose us (lit. speak us forth) (as robbers). (4) He, verily, flew back again. Unto him said (the gods) : ‘*Suparṇa*, have you found out (our) cows?’ ‘But what is the description of (your) cows?’ he asked.

कीर्तिर्गवाम् ' इति तस्य हेन्द्रो गलं पीळयन्नुवाच । ' गोष्वेवाहं किल तवोषुषा मुखम् ' इति । स ह दधिद्रप्सं वामिक्षां वोदास । सोऽयं बभूव
३ योऽयं वसन्ता भूतिकः प्रजायत ॥ ५ ॥ तं ह तच्छशाप । ' अश्लील-जन्म ते जीवनं भूयात्, यो नो गा अनुविद्य ता न प्रावोचः ' ति । तस्य हैतद् ग्रामस्य जघनार्धे यत्पापिष्ठं तज्जीवनम् ॥ ६ ॥

६ ते सरमामब्रुवन् । ' सरमे, इमा नस्त्वं गा अन्विच्छ ' इति । ' तथा ' इति । सा हानुप्रससार । सा ह रसामाजगाम ॥ १ ॥ तां होवाच । ' प्लोष्ये त्वा । गाधा मे भविष्यासि ' इति । ' प्लवस्व मा '
९ इति होवाच । ' न ते गाधा भविष्यामि ' इति ॥ २ ॥ सा हावाच्य कर्णौ प्लोष्यमाणा ससार । सा हेक्षांचक्रे । ' कथं नु मा शुना प्लवेत । हन्तास्यै गाधासानि ' इति । तां होवाच । ' मां मा प्लोष्ठाः । गाधा

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(5) 'This is the description of (our) cows'—with these words (*iti.*) wringing his throat, Indra said : 'I, indeed, the mouth of you who have actually stayed among the cows themselves.' He (i. e. *Suparṇa*) then threw out (i. e. ejected) a drop of curds or *āmikṣā*. That (drop) thus (ejected) became what here grows in spring as *bhūtika*. (6) Then (*Indra*) cursed him (i. e. *Suparṇa*) : 'May your means of livelihood (*Jīvana*) be what grows out of some ugly matter, you who (even) on having found our cows out have not told us about them.' (Hence) his means of livelihood is the vilest (substance) that is (found) in the hinder part of (i. e. the worst part) of the village.

(1) They (i. e. the gods) said unto *Saramā* : 'Oh *Saramā*, do you search after these cows of ours 'So (I will do)' (said *Saramā*, and) went forth in their search (*anu*). She, verily, came to the *Rasā*. (2) Unto her (i.e. *Rasā*) she said : 'I shall swim you. Or you shall become fordable to me' 'Do swim me,' said (the *Rasā*), 'I shall not become fordable to you.' (3) She (i. e. *Saramā*), verily bending backward her ears moved (forth) with a view to swim (her). She (i. e. *Rasā*), then, thought (to herself) : 'How, indeed, should a bitch swim me? Well, I shall become fordable to her.' Then she (i. e. *Rasā*) said to her (i. e. *Saramā*) :

ते भविष्यामि ' इति । 'तथा ' इति । तस्यै ह गाधं आस । सा ह गाधेनातिससार ॥ ३ ॥ ता हान्वाजगाम रसायामन्तर्वलेनापिहिताः । तस्यै हान्वागतायै तथैव सर्पिः क्षीरमामिक्षां दधीत्येतदुपनिदधुः ॥ ४ ॥ ३ सा होवाच । 'नाहमेतावदप्रिया देवानाम् । अविदं यद्वोऽश्नियाम् । त उ वै देवानां स्तेयं कृत्वा चरथ । एतासां वा अहं गवां पदवीरस्मि । न मा लापयिष्यध्वे । नेन्द्रस्य गा उपहरिष्यध्वे ॥ ५ ॥ सा हानाचिष्युपससाह । जराय्वपां तद्विवेद । तद्ध चखाद । तां हैक उपजगौ ' त्यमिव वै घ्नती सरमा जारु खादति ' इति । तदिदमप्येतर्हि निवचनं त्यमिव वै घ्नती सरमा जारु खादति इति । जरायु ह सा तच्चखाद ॥ ६ ॥ सा ह पुनराससार । तां होचुः । 'सरमे, अविदो गाः ' इति ॥७॥

' अविदम् ' इति होवाच । ' इमा रसायामन्तर्वलेनापिहिताः ।

'Do not swim me. I shall become fordable to you.' '(Let it be) so.' (said *Saramā*). (Then) there was a ford for her. By that ford she went beyond (the *Rasā*). (4) She, verily, came unto them (i. e. cows) at the *Rasā*, hidden in a cave. Near unto her, verily, come unto (them as she was), in the same way (as before) they put down (i. e. offered) this viz. clarified butter, milk, *āmikshā* and curds.' (5) She said : 'I am not so much disliked by the gods. I have (already) obtained what I might possibly obtain from you. Such as you are (*te*), you are going on (*caratha*), after committing a theft of the gods. I am, indeed, the leader of the steps of these cows. You will not make me tell (a lie). You will not carry with you (i. e. have or possess) the cows of Indra.' (6) She, then........dashed on. (She) found that (which is the) outer membrane of waters. That, verily, she chewed. At her, verily, one shouted : 'Killing that one, as it were, *Saramā* is chewing the outer membrane.' Hence even to this day there is the declaration (or statement) : 'Killing that one, as it were, *Saramā* chews the outer membrane.' The outer membrane, verily, did she chew then. (7) She, verily, came back again. To her they (i. e. gods) said : 'O *Saramā*, have you found out the cows?'

(1) 'I have found out' said (*Saramā*). 'There they are

ता यथा मन्यध्वमेवमाजिहीर्षत ' इति । तां हेन्द्र उवाच । ' अन्नादीमरे ते सरमे प्रजा करोमि या नो गा अन्वविदः ' इति । ते हैते विदर्भेषु
३ माचलाः सारमेया अपि ह शार्दूलान्मारयन्ति ।। २ ।। ते देवा एतमभिप्लवं समभरन् । तेनाभ्यप्लवन्त । तदभिप्लवस्याभिप्लवत्वम् ॥ ३ ॥

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1 B

जैमिनीयब्राह्मणम् ३. १०१

तद्वेवाचक्षते साकमश्वमिति । कक्षीवान् प्रियमेधमपृच्छत् । क इन्द्र इन्न दिदीपा ३ इ प्रियमेधेति । तदस्य नामनुत । सोऽब्रवीत् । प्रजा मे त्वा
६ प्रतिब्रवत् इति। अथ ह कक्षीवतो नाकुलिभस्त्रास प्रियङ्गुतण्डुलानां वाधिकतानां वा पूर्णा । तासां ह संवत्सरे संवत्सर एकैकां प्रास्यति । तावद्धास्मा

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at the *Rasā* hidden in a cave. You may try to take them back in a manner that you will.' To her verily, *Indra* said : "Food eating, oh *Saramā,* I make the off-spring of you who have traced and found out our cows'. Those well-known *mācalas* in the *Vidarbhas,* the descendants of, *Saramā,* kill even tigers. (3) The gods prepared this *Abhiplava* ceremony. By it they crossed through. That is the propriety of the name *Abhiplava* (given to this ceremony).

1 B

Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa III. 101.

This (*Sāman*), indeed (*eva*), they call *Sākamaśva. Kakṣīvat* (once) asked *Priyamedha, 'Priyamedha* who, indeed, (though) enkindled, does not shine?' This (question) of his (i. e. of *Kakṣīvat*) he (i. e. *Priyamedha*) did not understand. He (therefore) said (in reply) : 'My descendants will answer you'. Now *Kakṣīvat* had a *Nākulibhastrā* filled with *Priyaṅgu* rice and *Adhikatās.* Of these year after year he throws out one (grain). So much duration of life had been bestowed on him. Then *Sākamaśva* was born

आयुर्दत्तमास । स उ ह नावमः साकमश्व आजज्ञे प्रियमेधात् । सोऽकामयत उदित इयाम्, गातुं प्रतिवचनं विन्देयेति । स एतत् सामापश्यत् । तदभ्यगायत । ततः प्रतिवचनमपश्यत् । स कक्षीवन्तमभ्याद्रवत् । तमब्रवीदाद्रवन्तं ३ दृष्ट्वा । 'इमां मे भस्त्रामुदके प्रास्यत, इममहं तं पश्यामि यो मां प्रत्युच्याति प्रक्ष्यतीति' । अथ हैनमभ्यवजगाम । स होवाच । 'य ऋचं करोति न साम स इद्धो न दिदीपे । अथ य ऋचं च साम च करोति स इद्धः सन् ६ दिदीप । एतत्त्वाहं प्रतिब्रवीमि, एतन्मे पिता, एतत् पितामह, एतत् प्रपितामह, इत्या ह प्रियमेधाद्गणयाञ्चकार । तदेतत्तेजो ब्रह्मवर्चसं साम । एतेन वै स पूर्वेषां पितामहानां पाप्मानमपाहन् । तेजस्वी ब्रह्मवर्चसी भवति, ९ अप पूर्वेषां पितामहानां पाप्मानं हते य एवं वेद । यद्‌ु साकमश्वोऽपश्यत् तस्मात् साकमश्वमित्याख्यायते ।

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nineth in descent from *Priyamedha*. He desired : 'I may go out from here, may I find a way, the reply !' He saw this *Sāman*. He chanted it. He hastened towards *Kakṣīvat*. Seeing him hastening towards (him) said he (i. e. *Kakṣīvat*) : 'throw this *bhastrā* of mine into water. Here (*imam*) I see him, who replying me (i. e. my question) will over-question me. Then near unto him (i. e. *Kakṣīvat*) came (*Sākamaśva*). He (i. e. *Sākamaśva*) said (in reply to *Kakṣīvat's* question) : 'He, who fashions *Ṛc* but not the *Sāman* (pertaining to it), does not shine (though) enkindled. But he who fashions *Ṛc* as well as *Sāman* (pertaining to it) shines (when) enkindled'. This I say to you in reply. This my father; this (my) grand-father; this, (my) great-grand-father—thus he counted up to *Priyamedha*. This *Sāman* is glow and Brahmanical lustre. With this, verily, he (i. e. *Sākamaśva*) removed (drove away) the sin of his ancient fore-fathers. He who knows thus (i. e. this) becomes possessed of glow (and) Brahmanical lustre (and) removes (or drives away) the sin of (his) ancient ancestors. Since *Sākamaśva* saw (this *Sāman*), therefore, it is called *Sākamaśva*.

1 C

जैमिनीयब्राह्मणम् ३. १२०–१२८

च्यवनकथा

तासु च्यावनम् ।

च्यवनो वै भार्गवो वास्तुपस्य ब्राह्मणमवेत् । स पुत्रानब्रवीत् ।
३ वास्तुपस्य वै ब्राह्मणं वेद तं मा वास्तौ निधाय प्रयातेति । तेऽब्रुवन् । न शक्ष्याम आक्रोशनवन्तो भविष्यामः पितरमहासिषुरिति नः पेक्ष्यन्तीति ।

नेति होवाच । तेन वै यूयं वशीयांसो भविष्यथ । तेनो एव मम
६ पुनर्युवताया आशा । हित्वैव प्रयातेति तानज्ञापयत् । तं सरस्वत्यै शैशवे निधाय प्रायन् ।

सोऽकामयत वास्तौ हीनः । पुनर्युवा स्यां कुमारीं जायां विन्देय
९ सहस्रेण यजेयेति । स एतत् सामापश्यत् । तेनास्तुत । तं तुष्टुवांसं शर्यातो

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1 C

Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa III. 120-128.

Among them (is) the *Cyāvana*.

Cyavana, a descendant of *Bhṛgu*, verily knew the *Vāstupa Brāhmaṇa*. He said to (his) sons : 'I verily know the *Vāstupa Brāhmaṇa*; go away, therefore, leaving (lit. keeping) me as such (*tam*) in (this) abode'. They said (in reply) : 'We shall not be able (to do so), lest we shall be open to blame that we have forsaken our father (and) they will pelt us (to death)'.

'No' said he, 'By that (i. e. doing so) you will (show yourself to) be very obedient (to me) ; (and) by that alone (there is) hope of my rejuvenation'. He ordered them, 'Leave me to be sure and go away'. Him they kept in a *śaiśava* of the *Sarasvatī* and went away.

He, left in the place, expressed his desire : I shall be youthful again, shall win a maiden wife, (and) shall perform a sacrifice with a thousand (coins as *dakṣiṇā*). He saw this *Sāman*. With it he prayed. When he had prayed

मानवो ग्रामेणाध्यवास्यत् । तं कुमारा गोपाला अविपाला मृदा शकृत्पिण्डैरासपांसुभिरदिहन् । सोऽसंज्ञां शार्यात्येभ्योऽकरोत् । तन्न माता पुत्रमजानान्न पुत्रो मातरम् । ३

सोऽब्रवीच्छ्यार्यातो मानवः । किमिहाभितः किञ्चिदद्राष्ट यत इदमित्थमभूदिति । तस्मै होचुर्न नु ततोऽन्यत् । स्थविर एवायं निष्ठावः शेते । तमद्य कुमारा गोपाला अविपाला मृदा शकृत्पिण्डैरासपांसुभिरविक्षंस्तत इदमित्थमभूदिति । ६

स होवाच । च्यवनो वै स भार्गवोऽभूत् । स वास्तुपस्य ब्राह्मणं वेद । तं नूनं पुत्रा वास्तौ हित्वा प्रायासिषुरिति । स हैनमाद्रुत्याब्रवीत् । ऋषे नमस्तेऽस्तु । शार्यात्येभ्यो भगवो मृडेति । अथ ह सुकन्या शार्यात्या कल्याण्यास । ९

स होवाच । स वै मे सुकन्यां देहीति । नेति होवाच । अन्यद्व्रूनं

(thus), *Śāryāta*, a descendant of *Manu* encamped nearby with (his) host. The young (*kumāra*) cowherds and shepherds smeared him with mud (*mṛd*), lumps of excretion, ashes and dust. He struck the *Śāryātyas* with absence of discrimination As a result (thereof) neither the mother knew (her) son, nor the son (his) mother.

Then said *Śaryāta Mānava* : Did you notice here round about anything on account of which it has happened like this?' They said to him (in reply) : 'Not indeed, any thing else, but this. Here lies just (*eva*) an old man, all decrepit (*niṣṭhāvaḥ*). The young cow-herds and shepherds today smeared him with mud, lumps of excretion, ashes and dust; whence (perhaps) it has happened like this.'

He said : '*Cyavana Bhārgava,* indeed, he is. He knows the *Vāstupa Brāhmaṇa.* Him, verily, abandoning in the place, his sons have gone away'. Hastening to him he said to him : 'A bow to you, oh sage. Be merciful to the *Sāryātyas,* oh revered one'. Now there was *Sukanyā* the beautiful daughter of *Śaryāta.*

He (i. e. *Cyavana*) said : 'Give me *Sukanyā,* verily.' 'No' said he; speak (i. e. ask for) other thing (lit. wealth)'.

ब्रूष्वेति । नेति होवाच । वास्तुपस्य वै ब्राह्मणं वेद । तां म इहोपनिधाय सायमेवाद्य ग्रामेण यातादिति ।

३ ते वै त्वा मन्त्रयित्वा प्रतिब्रवामेति । ते होचुर्मन्त्रयित्वा । एकं वै द्वे त्रीणि परमनया धनानि लभेमहि, अथैनयेह सर्वमेव लप्स्यामहे । हन्तास्मा इमां ददामेति । तां हास्मै ददुः । तां होचुः । कुमारि, स्थविरो ६ वा अयं निष्ठावो नालमनुसरणाय । यदैव वयं युनजामहा अथान्वधावतादिति ।

सा हेयं युक्तं ग्राममनुसरिष्यन्त्वनूत्तस्थौ । स होवाच । अहे परि-९ धाव सखायं जीवहायिनमिति, सा यदीति । कृष्णसर्प उ हैवैनां प्रत्युत्तस्थौ। सा ह तदेव निर्विद्योपविवेश ।

अथ हाश्विनौ दर्विहोमिणौ भिषज्यन्ताविदं चेरतुरनपिसोमौ । तौ १२ हैनामेत्योचतुः । कुमारि स्थविरो वा अयमसर्वो नालं पतित्वनाय ;

'No' said he; 'I verily know the *Vāstupa Brāhmaṇa*. Offering (lit. keeping near) her to me here this very evening you should go away with (your) host.'

They (i. e. *Śaryāta* and his host) (told him) : 'After consulting (among ourselves) we shall give (our) answer'. (Then) holding consultation they said : 'Onefold, twofold, threefold at the most (*param*) riches we shall obtain by her ; but here we shall have everything by her. Well then, we shall bestow her on him'. They gave her over to him. They said to her : 'Oh maiden, this (man) is old (and) decrepit ; (and) is not capable of pursuit. As soon as we have yoked (our cars) run after (us)'.

Thus (instructed), she sprang up with a view to follow the host, yoked (i. e. ready for departure). He (*Cyavana*), recited (the two verses viz.) '*Ahe paridhāva* &c.' and *Sā yadi* &c.' A black cobra verily stood up against her. At once she sat down dejected.

Just then the two *Aśvins* who had libations (of *Soma* offerred to them) in a ladle, not entitled to have *Soma* (in a cup), passed by that (place) acting as physicians. Approaching her they said : 'Maiden, this (man here) is verily

आवयोर्जायैधीति । नेति होवाच । यस्मा एव मा पितादात् तस्य जाया भविष्यामीति । तद्धायमाजुघोष । अथ हैतौ प्रेयतुः ।

स होवाच । कुमारि को न्वेष घोषोऽभूदिति । पुरुषौ मेमावुपागातां यत् कल्याणतमं रूपाणां तेन रूपेणेति । ३

तौ त्वा किमवोचतामिति । कुमारि स्थविरो वा अयमसर्वो नाऽलं पतित्वनायावयोर्जायैधीति । ६

सा त्वं किमवोच इति । नेत्यहमवोचम् । यस्मा एव मा पितादात् तस्य जाया भविष्यामीति ।

तद्धास्य प्रियमास । स होवाच । अश्विनौ वै तौ दर्विहोमिणौ भिषज्यन्ताविदं चरतोऽनपिसोमिनौ । तौ त्वेतदेवागत्य श्वो वक्तारौ । तौ त्वं ब्रूयात् । युवं वा असर्वौ स्थो यौ देवौ सन्तावसोमपौ स्थः । सर्वो वै ९

old and wanting (lit. incomplete) and is not competent for being (your) husband. Be our wife. (She) said (in reply) : 'No, I shall be the wife of that (man only) to whom my father has given me'. That indeed he heard. Then the two (*Aśvins*) went away.

He said : 'Maiden, what indeed was this noise?' (She replied) : 'Two men approached me in a form that is the most handsome of all'.

(He asked) : 'What did they say to you?' (She replied). 'Maiden, this (man here) is indeed old and wanting; (and) is not competent to be (your) husband. Be our wife.'

'Thus addressed (*sā*) what did you say (to them)?' (he asked). (She replied) : 'No' said I, 'I shall be the wife of that (man only) to whom my father has given me'.

It was indeed quite pleasing to him. He said : 'Those two (men) are indeed the *Aśvins* who have *Soma* libations (offered to them) in a ladle, not entitled to have Soma (in a cup), who are moving about here acting as physicians. Coming up tomorrow again they would say this very thing (to you). You should say to them : 'you verily are wanting, who, though gods, are not partakers of *Soma* (from a cup). Perfect indeed is my husband who is a soma-

मम पतिर्यः सोमप इति । तौ वै त्वा वक्तारौ । कस्तस्येशे यदावमपिसोमौ स्यावेति । अयं मम पतिरिति ब्रूतात् । तेनो एव मे पुनर्युवताया आशेति ।

३ तौ हैनां श्वोभूत एत्यैतदेवोचतुः । सा होवाच । युवं वा असर्वौ स्थो यौ देवौ सन्तावसोमपौ स्थः । सर्वो वै मम पतिर्यः सोमप इति । तौ होचतुः । कस्तस्येशे यदावमपिसोमौ स्यावेति । अयं मम पतिरिति

६ होवाच । तं होचतुः । ऋषेऽपिसोमौ नौ भगवः कुर्विति । तथेति होवाच । तौ वै नु मां पुनर्युवानं कुरुतमिति ।

तं ह सरस्वत्यै शैशवमभ्याचकृषतुः । स होवाच । कुमारि सर्वे वै

९ सदृशा उदेष्यामोऽनेन मा लक्ष्मकेण जानीतादिति । ते ह सर्व एव सदृशा उदेयुर्यत् कल्याणतमं रूपाणां तेन रूपेण । तं हेयं ज्ञात्वावाविभिदेऽयं मम पतिरिति । तं होचतुः । ऋषे, अकुर्वाव तव तं कामं यस्तव कामोऽभूत् ।

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drinker'. (Then) they verily will ask you : 'Who has the power (to see) that we become sharers of *Soma?*' 'This my husband,' you should say (in reply). Thus only there is (some) hope of my (gaining) youth again'.

The two (*Aśvins*), coming up the next day, said these very (words) to her. She then said (in reply) : 'You two, indeed, are imperfect, who, gods though you are, are not sharers of *Soma.* Perfect, indeed, is my husband, who is a sharer of *Soma.*' Then they (two) asked : 'Who has the power (to see) that we become sharers of *Soma?*' 'This my husband' she said (in reply). Then they (two) said to him : 'Make us the sharers of *Soma*, revered seer.' 'So (will I do)', he said (in reply). '(But) you two, indeed, (should) make me youthful again'.

Then they dragged him on into the *Śaiśava* of the *Sarasvatī.* He then said : 'O maiden, we all shall come up (out of the *Śaiśava*) alike (one another) ; by this mark you should recognize me'. They all then came up (out of the *Śaiśava*) alike (one another) in a form which is the handsomest. Him, of course, she recognized and discerned (with the words). 'This is my husband'. Him the two (*Aśvins*) said : 'O seer, we have done (i. e. fulfilled) that desire of

पुनर्युवाभूः । आवां च तथानुशाधि यदावामपिसोमौ स्यावेति । स होवाच देवा एते कुरुक्षेत्रेऽपशीर्ष्णा यज्ञेन यजमाना आसते । ते तं कामं नाप्नुवन्ति यो यज्ञे कामः । तद्यज्ञस्य शिरोऽच्छिद्यत । तद्दध्यङ्ङाथर्वणोऽन्वपश्यत् तं तत् पृच्छतम् । स वां तदनुवक्ष्यति । ततोऽपिसोमौ भविष्यथ इति । ३

तद्यत्तद्यज्ञस्य शिरोऽच्छिद्यतेति सोऽसावादित्यः । स उ एव प्रवर्ग्यः । ६

तौ ह दध्यञ्चमाथर्वणमाजग्मतुः । तं होचतुः । ऋष उप त्वायावेति । कस्मै कामायेति । एतद्यज्ञस्य शिरोऽनुवक्ष्यावह इति । नेति होवाच । इन्द्रो वै तदपश्यत् । स माब्रवीत् । यदि वा इदमन्यस्मै ब्रूयाः शिरस्ते छिन्द्यामिति । तस्माद्बिभेमीति ॥ ९

स वै नावनेनाश्वस्य शीर्ष्णानुब्रूहीति । तथेति होवाच । स वै नु वां संवदमानौ पश्यानीति । १२

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yours, which desire you had. You have become youthful again. Now (please) so instruct us (both) that thereby we shall become sharers of *Soma*.' He then said : 'These gods here are performing a headless sacrifice in the *Kurukṣetra*. They cannot (lit. do not) attain the (object of) desire which is the (object of) desire in (performing) a sacrifice. The head of the sacrifice has been cut off. So what *Dadhyaṅ Ātharvaṇa* saw, about that you should ask him. He will recount it to you (two). Then you will be sharers of Soma'.

'Now what was cut off (as) the head of the sacrifice, that is this *Āditya*. He, verily, is the *Pravargya*'.

The two (*Aśvins*) then came to *Dadhyaṅ Ātharvaṇa*. To him they (two) said : 'O seer, we have approached you'. 'For what purpose?' (he asked), 'That we (two) shall be told about the head of the sacrifice'. (they replied). 'No', said he; 'Indra, indeed, has seen that (already). He has told me : 'If, indeed, you would tell this to any one else, I should cut off your head'. Hence I am afraid'.

'Recount (it) to us with this head of a horse' (they said to him). 'So (I will do)', said he. '(But) let me see you conversing (with one another, with this horse's head)'

तौ हेमौ स्वं शिरो निधायेदमश्वस्य शिरः प्रतिसंधाय तेन ह स्म संवदमानावासाते साम गायमानावृचं यजुरभिव्याहरन्तौ । ताभ्यां ह ३ श्रद्धाय तेनाश्वस्य शीर्ष्णानूवाच । तदिन्द्रोऽन्वबुध्यत. प्र हाभ्यामवोचदिति । तस्यानुद्रुत्य शिरः प्राच्छिनत्, इदमश्वशीर्षम् । अथ यदस्य स्वं शिर आसीत् तदिमौ मनीषिणौ प्रतिसमधत्ताम् ।

६ तौ ह देवानाजग्मतुरपशीर्ष्णा यज्ञेन यजमानान् । तान् होचतुः । अपशीर्ष्णा वै यज्ञेन यजमाना आध्वे । ते तं कामं नाप्नुथ यो यज्ञे काम इति । कस्तद्यज्ञस्य शिरो वेदेति । आवमिति । तद्वै प्रतिसंधत्तमिति । ९ ताभ्यां वै नौ ग्रहं गृह्णीतेति ।

ताभ्यामेतमाश्विनं ग्रहमगृह्णन् । तावब्रुवन् । युवमेवाध्वर्यू स्थः ।

Then these (two *Aśvins*), putting down one's own head (and) attaching the horse's head instead, stood conversing (with one another), chanting *Sāmans*, and reciting *ṛc* and *yajus* mantras. Then putting confidence in them, he recounted to them (the matter about the sacrifice) with the head of a horse. Now Indra came to know about this viz. that he (i. e. *Dadhyaṅ Ātharvaṇa*) had spoken out (*pra*) (the matter) to them two. Hastening, therefore, (to him) he cut off his head i. e. the horse's head. Then these two dexterous (*Āśvins*) put in its stead that head which was his own.

Then they two came to the gods sacrificing with a headless sacrifice ; (and) said to them : 'You have been performing a headless sacrifice. As such you cannot (lit. do not) attain the (object of) desire which is the (object of) desire in (performing) a sacrifice'. (They asked) : 'Who knows that head of the sacrifice?' 'We (two)', (they said in reply). 'Do you (two) put it back (in its place)', (said the gods). 'Offer (lit. take for) us (two), such as we are (*tābhyām*), a cup (of *Soma*),' (said the *Aśvins*).

For them (two) they (i. e. the gods) took this *Āśvina* cup. To them (both) they said : 'You (two) yourselves (*eva*) are *adhvaryus*. Do you put back (in its proper place

तौ तत् प्रजानन्तांवेतद्यज्ञस्य प्रतिसंधास्यथ इति । तथेति । तावध्वर्यू आस्ताम् । तत्तावपिसोमावभवताम् ।

अथ ह च्यवनो भार्गवः पुनर्युवा भूत्वागच्छच्छर्यातं मानवम् । ३ तं प्राच्यां स्थल्यामयाजयत् । तदस्मै सहस्रमददात् । तेनायजत । एतद्वै च्यवनो भार्गव एतेन साम्ना स्तुत्वा पुनर्युवाभवत् कुमारीं जायामविन्दत सहस्रेणायजत । एते वा एतस्मिन् सामन् कामाः । एतानेव कामानवरुन्द्धे । ६

यत्काम एवैतेन साम्ना स्तुते समस्मै स काम ऋध्यते । अथो ह स्मैतेनैव साम्ना च्यवनो भार्गवो यद्यदशनं चकमे तत्तद्ध स्म सरस्वत्यै शैशवादुदचाति । तद्वन्नाद्यस्यावरुद्धिः सामावान्नाद्यं रुन्द्धेऽन्नादः श्रेष्ठः ९ स्वानां भवति च एवं वेद । यदु च्यवनो भार्गवोऽपश्यत् तस्माच्च्यावन-मित्याख्यायते ॥

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the head) of the sacrifice, knowing it as you do (*tau*). 'So (be it)', (said the two *Aśvins*). They became (i. e. officiated as) *adhvaryus*. Then they became sharers of *Soma*.

Now verily *Cyavana*, the son of *Bhṛgu*, being a youth again went to *Śaryāta*, of Manu's race. He made him perform a sacrifice on the eastern site. Then (he i. e. *Śaryāta*) gave him a thousand. With that he (i. e. *Cyavana*) performed a sacrifice. Thus, in days of yore, *Cyavana* son of *Bhṛgu*, praying with this *Sāman* (chant) became, a youth again, secured a maiden (as his) wife and performed a sacrifice with a thousand. These verily are the (objects of) desire in this *sāman* and these very (objects of) desire (one) secures (by this *sāman*).

With whatever (object of) desire one prays with this *Sāman* (chant), that (object of) desire is thoroughly (*saṁ*) fulfilled for him. And again with this very *sāman* (chant) there came up from the *Śaiśava* of the *Sarasvatī*, verily all that eatable whichever *Cyavana*, son of *Bhṛgu*, desired (to have). This is the (means of) securing food for eating. Sāman (chant) secures food for eating. Eater of food (and) the best among his own people becomes he who knows this. Since *Cyavana*, son of *Bhṛgu*, saw (this *Sāman*) therefore, is it called *Cyāvana*.

छान्दोग्योपानिषद् ४. १-३

जानश्रुतिर्ह पौत्रयण: श्रद्धादेयो बहुदायी बहुपाक्य आस । स ह सर्वत आवसथान् मापयांचक्रे सर्वत एव मेऽत्स्यन्तीति ॥ १ ॥

२ अथ ह हꣳसा निशायामतिपेतु: । तद्धैवꣳहꣳसा हꣳसमभ्युवाद । 'हो होऽयि भल्लाक्ष भल्लाक्ष जानश्रुते: पौत्रायणस्य समं दिवा ज्योतिराततम् । तन्मा प्रसाङ्क्षी:, तत्त्वा मा प्रधाक्षी: ' इति ॥ २ ॥

६ तमु ह पर: प्रत्युवाच । 'कम्वर एनमेतत्सन्तꣳ सयुग्वानमिव रैक्वमात्थ ' इति । 'या नु कथं सयुग्वा रैक्व: ' इति ॥ ३ ॥

'यथा कृताय विजितायाधरेऽया: संयन्त्येवमेनꣳ सर्वं तदभिसमैति

No. 4

Chāndogyopanīṣad IV. 1-3.

(IV. 1) Now there was *Jānaśruti*, grand-son of the son (of *Janśurata*) a pious donor, a liberal giver of gifts, a preparer of much food. He got rest-houses built everywhere that everywhere (people) might cat his (food).

(2) Then once swans flew over (his house) in the night, and one swan spoke to another thus : 'Hey ! Ho ! *Bhallākṣa Bhallākṣa*, the glory of *Jānaśruti Pautrāyaṇa* lies spread about like the sky. So do not touch it, so do not born thyself'.

(3) To him, verily, the other made reply; 'Come ! Who is he, of whom you speak this as if (he were) *Raikva* (the man) with the cart?' 'But who is this *Raikva* (the man) with the cart that you speak of?' (enquired the first).

(4) (The latter replied) ; 'As to the winner, with the

यत्किंच प्रजाः साधु कुर्वन्ति । यस्तद्वेद यत्स वेद स मयैतदुक्तः '
इति ॥ ४ ॥

तदु ह जानश्रुतिः पौत्रायण उपशुश्राव । स ह संजिहान एव ३
क्षत्तारमुवाच ' अङ्गारे ह सयुग्वानमिव रैक्कमात्थ ' इति । ' यो नु कथꣳ
सयुग्वा रैक्कः ' इति ॥ ५ ॥

' यथा कृताय विजितायाधरेऽयाः संयन्त्येवमेनꣳसर्वं तदभिसमैति ६
यत्किंच प्रजाः साधु कुर्वन्ति । यस्तद्वेद यत्स वेद स मयैतदुक्तः '
इति ॥ ६ ॥

स ह क्षत्तान्विष्य नाविदमिति प्रत्येयाय । तꣳहोवाच यत्रारे ७
ब्राह्मणस्यान्वेषणा तदेनमर्छ ' इति ॥ ७ ॥

सोऽधस्ताच्छकटस्य पामानं कषमाणमुपोपविवेश । तं हाभ्युवाद

highest throw, go all the lower throws (of dice), so to him goes fully whatever good the creatures do. I have spoken thus of one who knows what he knows !

(5) This *Jānaśruti Pautrāyaṇa* overheard ; and as soon as he got up from his bed, he said to his *kṣattā* : 'Oh ! you, verily, speak (of me) as of *Raikva*, the man with the cart'! 'But who is this *Raikva* the man with the cart (that you speak of) ?' (enquired the *Kṣattā*).

(6) 'As to the winner with the highest throw go all the lower throws (of dice), so to him goes fully whatever good the creatures do, I have spoken thus of one who knows what he knows'.

(7) The *Kṣattā*, verily, searching (for *Raikva* in vain) came back declaring 'I could not find (him)'. (Then) he (i. e. *Jānaśruti*) said to him, 'Go (and search) for him there where a *Brāhmaṇa* (knower of *Brahman*) is to be sought for'.

(8) He (i.e. *Kṣattā*) sat by the side of (a man) scratching the itch (sitting) under a cart, (and), verily, said to

'त्वं नु भगवः सयुग्वा रैक्वः' इति । 'अहꣳह्यरा ३'. इति ह प्रति जज्ञे । स ह क्षत्ताविदमिति प्रत्येयाय ॥ ८ ॥

३ तदु ह जानश्रुतिः पौत्रायणः षट् शतानि गवां निष्कमश्वतरीरथं तदादाय प्रतिचक्रमे । तꣳहाभ्युवाद ॥ १ ॥

'रैक्वेमानि षट् शतानि गवामयं निष्कोऽयमश्वतरीरथाऽनु म एतां ६ भगवो देवतां शाधि यां देवतामुपास्से' इति ॥ २ ॥

तमु ह परः प्रत्युवाच 'अह हारेत्वा शूद्र तवैव सह गोभिरस्तु' इति ।

तदु ह पुनरेव जानश्रुतिः पौत्रायणः सहस्रं गवां निष्कामश्वतरीरथं ९ दुहितरं तदादाय प्रतिचक्रमे ॥ ३ ॥

तꣳहाभ्युवाद 'रैक्वेदं सहस्रं गवामयं निष्कोऽयमश्वतरीरथ इयं जाया अयं ग्रामो यस्मिन्नास्सेऽन्वेव मा भगवः शाधि' इति ॥ ४ ॥

१२ तस्या ह मुखमुपोद्गृह्णन्नुवाच 'आजहारेमाः शूद्र, अनेनैव मुखेनाला-

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him : 'Art thou, Sir, *Raikva*, the man with the cart ?' 'Oh ! I, indeed', avowed he. Then the *Kṣattā* went back declaring, 'I have found (him)'.

(IV 2) (1) Then *Jānaśruti Pautrāyaṇa* repaired to him taking (with him) six hundred cows, a gold necklace, and a chariot drawn by a she-mule ; and, verily, addressed him :

(2) '*Raikva*, here (are) six hundred cows, here a gold necklace, and here a chariot drawn by a she-mule. Now, Sir, instruct me about that divinity, the divinity that thou adorest'.

(3) Unto him the latter replied ; 'Fie on thee, *Śūdra !* (The necklace and the chariot) together with the cows be all thine !'

(Thereon again *Jānaṣruti Pautrāyaṇa* repaired to him (i. e. *Raikva*) taking (with him) a thousand cows, a gold necklace, a chariot drawn by a she-mule, (and) his daughter.

(4) And addressed him ; '*Raikva*, here (are) a thousand cows, here a gold necklace, here a chariot drawn by a she-mule, here a wife, and here the town in which you dwell. Do instruct me, Sir !

(5) Then raising up her face, he (i. e. *Raikva*) said :

पयिष्यथाः' इति ।

ते हैते रैक्वपर्णा नाम महावृषेषु यत्रास्मा उवास । तस्मै होवाच ॥५॥

वायुर्वाव संवर्गः । यदा वा अग्निरुद्वायति वायुमेवाप्येति । यदा सूर्योऽ ३ स्तमेति वायुमेवाप्येति । यदा चन्द्रोऽस्तमेति वायुमेवाप्येति ॥ १ ॥

यदाप उच्छुष्यन्ति वायुमेवापियन्ति । वायुर्ह्येवैतान् सर्वान् संवृङ्क्ते । इत्यधिदैवतम् ॥ २ ॥ ६

अथाध्यात्मम् ।

प्राणो वाव संवर्गः । स यदा स्वपिति प्राणमेव वागप्येति, प्राणं चक्षुः, प्राणँ श्रोत्रं, प्राणं मनः । प्राणो ह्येवैतान् सर्वान् संवृङ्क्ते इति ॥ ३ ॥ ९

तौ वा एतौ द्वौ संवर्गौ वायुरेव देवेषु प्राणः प्राणेषु ॥ ४ ॥

अथ ह शौनकं च कापेयमभिप्रतारिणं च काक्षसेनिं परिविष्यमाणौ ब्रह्मचारी बिभिक्षे । तस्मा उ ह न ददतुः ॥ ५ ॥ १२

'Thou hast brought these (cows and other things), Oh *Śudra*, but thou wouldst make me speak with this mouth alone'. So this is the *Raikvaparṇā* (*grāma*) in the land of the *Mahāvṛṣas* where he (i. e. *Raikva*) lived for him (i. e. *Jānaṣruti*).

(1) *Vāyu* verily, is *saṁvarga.* When fire goes out, it merges into *Vāyu* only. When the sun sets, he merges into *vāyu* only. When the moon sets, she merges into *Vāyu* only.

(2) When waters dry up, they merge into *Vāyu* only. For *Vāyu* [it is that] merges all these into itself. Thus much in the sphere of Divinities.

(3) Now in the sphere of (self in a living) body.

Prāṇa is, verily, *saṁvarga.* When one sleeps, speech merges into *Prāṇa,* the sight, into *Prāṇa* ; audition, into *Prāṇa* ; (and also) the mind, into *Prāṇa* ; for *Prāṇa* [it is that] merges all these into itself.

(4) These, verily, are two *saṁvargas* : *Vāyu* among the gods, and *Prāṇa* among the *Prāṇas*.

(5) Now once upon a time a *Brahmacārin* sought (food) of *Śaunaka Kāpeya* and *Abhipratārin Kākṣaseni* (as they were) being served with food. They, however, did not give (it) to him

स होवाच ।

'महात्मनश्चतुरो देव एकः कः स जगार भुवनस्य गोपाः ।
३ तं कोपय नाभिपश्यन्ति मर्त्या अभिप्रतारिन् बहुधा वसन्तम् ॥
यस्मै वा एतदन्नं तस्मा एतन्न दत्तम्' इति ॥ ६ ॥

तदु ह शौनकः कापेय तिमन्वानः प्रत्येयाय—

६ 'आत्मा देवानां जनिता प्रजाना ँ हिरण्यदंष्ट्रो बभसोऽनसूरिः ।
महान्तमस्य महिमानमाहुरनद्यमानो यदनन्नमत्ति ॥
इति वै वयं ब्रह्मचारिन्नेदमुपास्महे । दत्तास्मै भिक्षाम् ।' इति ॥ ७ ॥

९ तस्मा उ ह ददुः ।

ते वा एते पञ्चान्ये पञ्चान्ये दश सन्तस्तत्कृतम् । तस्मात् सर्वासु दिक्ष्वन्नमेव दश कृतम् । सैषा विराडन्नादी । तयेद ँ सर्वं दृष्टम् । सर्वमस्येदं १२ दृष्टं भवत्यन्नादो भवति य एवं वेद य एवं वेद ॥ ८ ॥

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(6) He then declared ;

'Who is that god, the protector of the universe, who alone has swallowed up the four great beings ? Him, Oh *Kāpeya*, mortals do not perceive (though) abiding in manifold forms, Oh *Abhipratārin*.

You are refusing (lit. not giving) food to him, verily, for whom it (is really meant) !'

(7) *Śaunaka Kāpeya* reflected thereon and admitted :

'(He is) the soul of gods, creator of creatures, consumer with golden teeth, not unintelligent. (They) speak of his might as being vast, inasmuch as himself undevoured he consumes non-food.

Thus, indeed, Oh *Brahmacārin*, do we adore it. Give him alms.'

(8) Then to him they gave (alms). These, then, five of one group and five of another make ten ; (and) that is *Kṛta*. Hence in all the quarters food is (the number) ten, the *Kṛta*. That is the *Virāj*, the consumer of food. Through it is perceived all this. All this becomes perceived by him (and) he becomes a consumer of food, who knows this, yea who knows this.

2 B

छान्दोग्योपनिषद् ६. ११–१६

‘अस्य सोम्य महतो वृक्षस्य यो मूलेऽभ्याहन्यात् जीवन्स्रवेद्, यो मध्येऽभ्याहन्यात् जीवन्स्रवेद्, योऽग्रेऽभ्याहन्यात् जीवन्स्रवेत् स एष जीवेनात्मनानुप्रभूतः पेपीयमानो मोदमानस्तिष्ठति ॥ १ ॥ ३

अस्य यदेका शाखां जीवो जहात्यथ सा शुष्यति, द्वितीयां जहात्यथ सा शुष्यति, तृतीयां जहात्यथ सा शुष्यति, सर्वं जहाति सर्वः शुष्यति । एवमेव खलु सोम्य विद्धि’ इति होवाच ॥ २ ॥ ६

जीवापेतं वाव किलेदं म्रियते न जीवो म्रियत इति । स य एषोऽणिमैतदात्म्यमिदँ सर्वं तत्सत्यँ स आत्मा तत्त्वमसि श्वेतकेतो’ इति । ‘भूय एव मा भगवान् विज्ञापयतु’ इति । ‘तथा सोम्य’ इति होवाच ॥ ३ ॥ ९

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2 B

Chāndogyopaniṣad VI. 11-16

(1) ‘If, my dear, one should strike at the root of this great tree it would discharge (sap) while (it is) living. If one should strike at the middle it would discharge (sap) while (it is) living. If one should strike at the top it would discharge (sap) while (it remains) living. This (tree) thus stands drinking constantly and rejoicing, being (as it is) pervaded by this living self.

(2) If the living self deserts one branch of it, then it (i. e. the branch) dries up. It deserts a second and that (also) dries up. It deserts third and that (too) dries up. It deserts the whole (tree) (and) the whole (tree) dries up. Even thus, verily, my dear, know (this principle)’, he declared.

(3) This verily dies (when) deserted by self ; the living self dies not. That which (thus forms) the finest (essence), that all this (universe) has as its self. That is reality. That is Self. That thou art, Śvetaketu ! ‘Instruct me further more, Venerable Sir,’ (requested *Śvetaketu*). ‘(Be it) so, dear,’ he said.

‘ न्यग्रोधफलमत आहर’ इति । ‘ इदं भगवः’ इति ।
‘ भिन्द्धि’ इति । ‘ भिन्नं भगवः ’ इति ।
३ ‘ किमत्र पश्यसि’ इति । ‘ अण्व्य इवेमा धाना भगवः ’ इति ।
‘ आसामङ्गैकां भिन्द्धि ’ इति । ‘ भिन्ना भगवः’ इति ।
‘ किमत्र पश्यसि’ इति । ‘ न किंचन भगवः’ इति॥ १ ॥

६ त ँ होवाच ‘ यं वै सोम्यैतमणिमानं न निभालयस एतस्य वै सोम्यैषोऽणिम्न एवं महान्यग्रोधस्तिष्ठति । श्रद्धत्स्व सोम्य’ इति ॥ २ ॥

‘ य एषोऽणिमैतदात्म्यमिद ँ सर्वं तत्सत्य ँ स आत्मा तत्त्वमसि ९ श्वेतकेतो ’ इति । ‘ भूय एव मा भगवान् विज्ञापयतु ’ इति । ‘ तथा सोम्य ’ इति होवाच ॥ ३ ॥

‘ लवणमेतदुदकेऽवधायाथ मा प्रातरुपसीदथाः ’ इति । स ह तथा १२ चकार । त ँ होवाच ‘ यद्दोषा लवणमुदकेऽवाधा अङ्ग तदाहर ’ इति । यद्धावमृश्य न विवेद ॥ १ ॥

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(1) ‘Bring from there a fruit of the *Nyagrodha* tree.’ ‘Hear it is Sir.’

‘Break it.’ ‘(I have) broken (it), Sir.’

‘What dost thou observe here?’ ‘These rather minute seedkins, Sir.’

‘Of these, dear, break one.’ ‘(I have) broken (it), Sir.’

‘What dost thou observe here ?’ ‘Nothing at all Sir.’

(2) Unto him said (the father), ‘Verily, my dear, that minute essence which you do not observe, (as the growth) of that minute essence, verily, my dear, this so very extensive *Nyagrodha* stands. Believe (me), my dear.’

(3) That which (thus forms) the finest (essence), that all this (universe) has as its self. That is reality. That is Self. That thou art, *Śvetaketu.*’

‘Instruct me further more, Venerable Sir,’ (requested *Śvetaketu*). ‘(Be it) so, my dear,’ said (the father).

(1) ‘Putting this salt in the water thereafter come to me in the morning.’ He (*Śvetaketu*), verily, did like that. Unto him said (the father) : ‘What salt thou didst put in the water (last) evening, bring that, my dear,’ Feeling for it (with his fingers) he could not find it.

‘यथाविलीनमेवाङ्गास्यान्तादाचाम’ इति । ‘कथम्’ इति । ‘लवणम्’ इति ।

‘ मध्यादाचाम ’ इति । ‘ कथम् ’ इति । ‘ लवणम् ’ इति ।

‘ अन्तादाचाम ’ इति । ‘ कथम् ’ इति । ‘ लवणम् ’ इति । ३

‘अभिप्रास्यैतदथ मोपसीदथाः’ इति । तद्ध तथा चकार । तच्छश्वत् संवर्तते ।

तं होवाच ‘ अत्र वाव किल सत्सोम्य न निभालयसे, अत्रैव किल ’ इति ॥ २ ॥ ६

‘ स य एषोऽणिमैतदात्म्यमिदँ सर्वं तत्सत्यँ स आत्मा तत्त्वमसि श्वेतकेतो ’ इति ।

‘भूय एव मा भगवान् विज्ञापयतु’ इति । ‘तथा सोम्य’ इति होवाच ॥ ३ ॥ ९

यथा सोम्य पुरुषं गान्धारेभ्योऽभिनद्धाक्षमानीय तं ततोऽतिजने विसृजेत् स यथा तत्र प्राङ्वोदङ्वाधराङ् वा प्रत्यङ् वा प्रध्मायीत ‘ अभिनद्धाक्ष आनीतोऽभिनद्धाक्षो विसृष्टः ’ ॥ १ ॥ १२

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(2) Completely dissolved as (the salt) is, my dear, sip it from (this) end.’ ‘How (is it) ?’ ‘Salt.’

‘(Now) sip (it) from the middle.’ ‘How (is it now) ?’ ‘Salt (again).’

‘(Now) sip (it) from the (other) end.’ ‘How (is it now) ?’ ‘Salt (only).’

‘Throwing this off, (come, and) sit beside me.’

He (i. e. *Śvetaketu*) did so, (saying to himself) ‘It ever pervades.’

Unto him said (the father) : ‘Here verily, my dear, existing (as it is), thou perceivest (it) not ; here only, to be sure.’

(3) That which (thus forms) the finest (essence), that all this (universe) has for its Self. That is reality. That is Self. That thou art, *Śvetaketu*.’

‘Instruct me further more, Venerable Sir,’ (requested *Śvetaketu*). ‘(Be it) so, my dear,’ said (the father).

(1) ‘Just as, my dear, bringing a man with blind-folded eyes from the *Gāndhāras* (if) one might abandon him in an uninhabited place, just as there (with his face) to the east, to the north, to the south, or to the west he would bawl out. ‘With eyes blind-folded have I been brought (hither), with eyes blind-folded have I been abandoned (here).’

तस्य यथाभिनहनं प्रमुच्य ब्रूयात् 'एतां दिशं गन्धारा एतां दिशं व्रज' इति। 'स ग्रामाद् ग्रामं पृच्छन् पण्डितो मेधावी गन्धारानेवोपसंपद्येत,
३ एवमेवेहाचार्यवान् पुरुषो वेद। तस्य तावदेव चिरं यावन्न विमोक्ष्येऽथ संपत्स्ये' इति ॥ २ ॥

'स य एषोऽणिमैतदात्म्यमिदँ सर्वं तत्सत्यँ स आत्मा तत्त्वमसि
६ श्वेतकेतो' इति।

'भूय एव मा भगवान् विज्ञापयतु' इति। 'तथा सोम्य' इति होवाच ॥ ३ ॥

९ पुरुषँ सोम्योतोपतापिनं ज्ञातयः पर्युपासते 'जानासि मां जानासि माम्' इति। तस्य यावन्न वाङ् मनसि संपद्यते, मनः प्राणे, प्राणस्तेजसि, तेजः परस्यां देवतायां तावज्जानाति ॥ १ ॥

१२ अथ यदास्य वाङ् मनसि संपद्यते, मनः प्राणे, प्राणस्तेजसि, तेजः परस्यां देवतायामथ न जानाति ॥ २ ॥

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(2) (Then) just as taking off his bandage one might say (unto him), 'In this direction (are) the *Gāndhāras*; go (therefore), in this direction.' He, then enquiring from village to village would reach the *Gāndhāras* themselves (if he is) wise (and) intelligent, even so here (in this matter) a man having a preceptor knows (the principle). For him there is delay only so long as he is not released (from the body). (Immediately) thereafter he will be one with (*Sat*)!

(3) That which (thus forms) the finest (essence), that all this (universe) has for its Self. That is reality. That is Self. That thou art, *Śvetaketu*.'

'Instruct me further again, Venerable Sir,' (requested *Śvetaketu*). '(Be it) so, my dear,' said (the father).

(1) 'And again, my dear, kinsmen gather around a person seriously ill and ask, 'Do you recognize me? Do you recognize me?' So long as his voice does not merge into the mind, his mind into his *prāṇa*, *prāṇa* into *tejas*, (and) the *tejas* into the *Supreme Divinity*, so long he recognizes.

(2) But when his voice merges into his mind, his mind into his *prāṇa*, his *prāṇa* into *tejas*, and his *tejas* into the *Supreme Divinity*, then he recognizes not.

‘ स य एषोऽणिमैतदात्म्यमिदँ सर्वं तत्सत्यँ स आत्मा तत्त्वमसि श्वेतकेतो’ इति ।

‘ भूय एव मा भगवान् विज्ञापयतु ’ इति । ‘ तथा सोम्य ’ इति होवाच ॥ ३ ॥

पुरुषँ सोम्योत हस्तगृहीतमानयन्ति ‘ अपहार्षीत् स्तेयमकार्षीत्, परशुमस्मै तपत ’ इति । स यदि तस्य कर्ता भवति तत एवानृतमात्मानं कुरुते । सोऽनृताभिसन्धोऽनृतेनात्मानमन्तर्धाय परशुं तप्तं प्रतिगृह्णाति । स दह्यते । अथ हन्यते ॥ १ ॥

अथ यदि तस्याकर्ता भवति तत एव सत्यमात्मानं कुरुते । स सत्याभिसंधः सत्येनात्मानमन्तर्धाय परशुं तप्तं प्रतिगृह्णाति । स न दह्यते । अथ मुच्यते ॥ २ ॥

‘ स यथा तत्र नादाह्येत ऐतदात्म्यमिदँ सर्वं तत्सत्यँ स आत्मा तत्त्वमसि श्वेतकेतो ’ इति । तद्धास्य विजज्ञाविति विजज्ञाविति ॥ ३ ॥

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(3) That which (thus forms) the finest (essence), that all this (universe) has for its Self. That is reality. That is Self. That thou art *Śvetaketu.*’

‘Instruct me further again, Venerable Sir,’ (requested *Śvetaketu*). ‘(Be it) so, my dear,’ said (the father).

(1) ‘And also, my dear, they lead a man hand-cuffed (announcing), ‘He has stolen ! He has committed a theft. Heat an axe for him !’ If he is the doer of that (theft) thereby, indeed, he makes himself untrue. Making an untrue declaration (and thus) covering himself with untruth, he catches hold of the heated axe, (and) is scalded. Then he is slain.

(2) If, however, he is not the doer of that (theft), thereby, indeed, he makes himself true. Making a true declaration (and thus) covering himself with truth, he catches hold of the heated axe (and) is not scalded. Then he is released.

(3) Just as he in that (latter case) would not be scalded (because of the truth with which he has covered himself), so all this (universe) has that (truth) for its Self. That is reality. That is Self. That thou art, *Śvetaketu.*’

Then he (i. e. *Śvetaketu*) understood fully his (doctrine), yea, he understood fully.

बृहदारण्यकोपनिषत् ६. २. १–११, १४–१६

श्वेतकेतुर्ह वा आरुणेयः पञ्चालानां परिषदमाजगाम । स आजगाम जैवलिं प्रवाहणं परिचारयमाणम् । तमुदीक्ष्याभ्युवाद कुमारा३ इति ।
३ स भो३ इति प्रतिशुश्राव । अनुशिष्टोऽन्वसि पित्रेति । ओमिति होवाच ॥

वेत्थ यथेमाः प्रजाः प्रयत्यो विप्रतिपद्यन्ता३ इति ॥

नेति होवाच ॥

६ वेत्थो यथेमं लोकं पुनरापद्यन्ता३ इति ॥

नेति हैवोवाच ॥

९ वेत्थो यथाऽसौ लोक एवं बहुभिः पुनः पुनः प्रयद्भिर्न संपूर्यता३ इति ॥ १ ॥

No. 3

Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad VI. 2.1-11, 14-16.

(1) Once, in days of yore, *Śvetaketu,* the son of *Āruṇi,* went to the assembly of the *Pāncālas.* He came by *Pravāhaṇa,* son of *Jīvala,* being waited upon (by his servants). (He i. e., *Pravāhaṇa*) seeing him, spoke out (to him) : 'O boy.' The latter said in reply : 'Yes sir.' 'Have you been instructed by your father?' (he asked). 'Yes sir,' he said (in reply).

(2) 'Do you know how these created beings departing (from this world) go in different (or diverse) directions !'

'No,' said he.

'Do you know how they return to this world ?'

'No,' said he again.

'Do you know how that (yonder) world, though a large number (of creatures) go to it one after another, is not filled up (completely) by them ?'

नेति हैवोवाच ॥

वेत्थो यतिथ्यामाहुत्या ँ हुतायामापः पुरुषवाचो भूत्वा समुत्थाय वदन्ती ३ इति ॥ ३

नेति हैवोवाच ॥

वेत्थो देवयानस्य वा पथः प्रतिपदं पितृयाणस्य वा । यत्कृत्वा देवयानं वा पन्थानं प्रतिपद्यन्ते पितृयाणं वा । अपि हि न ऋषेर्वचः श्रुतम् ॥ ६

द्वे सृती अशृणवं पितृणामहं देवानामुत मर्त्यानाम् ।

ताभ्यामिदं विश्वमेजत्समेति यदन्तरा पितरं मातरं च ॥ इति ।

नाहमत एकंचन वेदेति होवाच ॥ २ ॥ ९

अथैनं वसत्योपमन्त्रयांचक्रे । अनादृत्य वसतिं कुमारः प्रदुद्राव । स आजगाम पितरम् । तँ होवाच । इति वाव किल नो भवान्पुरानुशिष्टानवोच इति । कथँ सुमेध इति । पञ्च मा प्रश्नान्राजन्यबन्धुरप्राक्षीत् । १२ ततो नैकंचन वेदेति । कतमे त इति । इम इति ह प्रतीकान्युदाजहार ॥३॥

'No,' said he again.

'Do you know on offering which oblation the waters get the appellation of man, rise up and speak ?'

'No,' said he again.

'Do you know the step to the path of Gods or the path of fathers, that by doing which one gets on to the *Devayāna* or the *Pitṛyāṇa* path ? Have you not heard the word of the seer :

Two paths have I heard (as being open) to mortals : (The path) of the fathers and (that) of Gods. Along these two moves on all this that moves in between the father and the mother.

'Not even one of these do I know.' said he.

(3) Then he (i. e. *Pravāhaṇa*) invited him to stay. Disregarding (the invitation to) stay, the boy ran away, He came to his father. He said to him : 'Thus verily, has your honour previously (*purā*) declared us (to be fully) instructed !' 'How, talented one ?' (asked the father). (He replied) : 'Five questions did the Kṣatriya—relative put to me. Not one of them do I know. 'Which, are they ?' (asked the father). 'These.' He said (and) gave out the key words.

स होवाच । तथा नस्त्वं तात जानीथा यथा यदहं किंच वेद सर्वमहं तत्तुभ्यमवोचम् । प्रेहि । तु तत्र प्रतीत्य ब्रह्मचर्यं वत्स्याव इति ।
३ भवानेव गच्छत्विति । स आजगाम गौतमो यत्र प्रवाहणस्य जैवलेरास । तस्मा आसनमाहृत्योदकमाहारयांचकार । अथ हास्मा अर्घ्यं चकार । तँ होवाच । वरं भगवते गौतमाय दद्म इति ।। ४ ।।

६ स होवाच । प्रतिज्ञातो म एष वरः । यां तु कुमारस्यान्ते वाचम भाषथास्तां मे ब्रूहीति ।। ५ ।।

स होवाच । दैवेषु वै गौतम तद्वरेषु । मानुषाणां ब्रूहीति ।। ६ ।।

९ स होवाच । विज्ञायते हास्ति हिरण्यस्यापात्तं गोअश्वानां दासीनां प्रवाराणां परिधानस्य । मा नो भवान्बहोरनन्तस्यापर्यन्तस्याभ्यवदान्यो भूदिति । स वै गौतम तीर्थेनेच्छासा इति । उपैम्यहं भवन्तमिति । वाचा

(4) He (i. e. the father) said : 'This much you know of me, my dear, that whatever I know, all that I have imparted to you. (So) come. We shall go back there and stay (with him) as (his) pupils.' 'May your honour go alone (*eva*),' said the son. *Gautama* thus addressed (*saḥ*) came to where *Pravāhaṇa,* son of *Jīvala,* was. (The latter) offering him a seat, ordered water to be brought. Then he offered him *arghya* and said to him : 'We bestow a boon on the venerable *Gautama.*'

(5) He said : 'This boon has been promised to me. Speak out to me that matter (lit. word) which you spoke out to (my) son.'

(6) He said : 'Surely (that falls) among the divine boons. Speak (i. e. ask for) one of the human (ones).'

(7) He said : 'It is well known that I have enough of gold, cows, horses, maids, servants (and) robes. Be not venerable sir (*bhavān*), niggardly to us as regards the great, unending and uncircumscribed.'

'You may then (*sa*), O *Gautam*, seek (to have) it in the usual manner (as laid down by the *Śāstras*).' 'I approach your honour as a pupil. With (this) word (only) did the ancients (*pūrve*) approach (their preceptors) as pupils.'

ह स्मैव पूर्व उपयन्ति । स होपायनकीर्त्योवास ॥ ७ ॥

स होवाच । तथा नस्त्वं गौतम मापराधास्तव च पितामहाः ।
यथेयं विद्येतः पूर्वं न कस्मिँश्चन ब्राह्मण उवास । तां त्वहं तुभ्यं ३
वक्ष्यामि । को हि त्वैवं ब्रुवन्तमर्हति प्रत्याख्यातुमिति ॥ ८ ॥

असौ वै लोकोऽग्निर्गौतम । तस्यादित्य एव समित् । रश्मयो धूमः ।
अहरर्चिः । दिशोऽङ्गाराः । अवान्तरदिशो विस्फुलिङ्गाः । तस्मिन्नेत- ६
स्मिन्नग्नौ देवाः श्रद्धां जुह्वति । तस्या आहुत्यै सोमो राजा संभवति ॥ ९ ॥

पर्जन्यो वा अग्निर्गौतम । तस्य संवत्सर एव समित् । अभ्राणि
धूमः । विद्युदर्चिः । अशनिरङ्गाराः । ह्रादुनयो विस्फुलिङ्गाः । तस्मिन्ने- ९
तस्मिन्नग्नौ देवाः सोमꣳ राजानं जुह्वति । तस्या आहुत्यै वृष्टिः संभवति ॥१०॥

अयं वै लोकोऽग्निर्गौतम । तस्य पृथिव्येव समित् । अग्निर्धूमः ।
रात्रिरर्चिः । चन्द्रमा अङ्गाराः । नक्षत्राणि विस्फुलिङ्गाः । तस्मिन्नेतस्मि- १२
न्नग्नौ देवा वृष्टिं जुह्वति । तस्या आहुत्या अन्नँसंभवति ॥ ११ ॥

He then stayed (with him as a pupil) by (this) declaration of his pupilhood.

(8) He said : 'Do not, *Gautama,* you as well as your fore-fathers, hold us guilty for the fact that this lore hithertofore did not dwell in any *Brāhmaṇa.* I will, however, impart it to you. For who can repudiate you, speaking thus.'

(9) 'That world, verily, Oh *Gautama,* is the (sacrificial) fire. The sun is its wood : the rays, its smoke ; the day, (its) flame ; the directions, (its) embres ; the sub-directions, (its) sparks. In that fire so (described), gods offer faith. Out of this oblation springs up king *Soma.*

(10) *Parjanya,* verily, Oh *Gautama,* is the (sacrificial) fire. The year is its wood ; clouds, (its) smoke ; lightning, (its) flame ; the thunderbolt, (its) embres ; thunders, (its) sparks. In that fire so (described) gods offer king *Soma.* Out of that oblation springs up rain.

(11) This world, verily, O *Gautama,* is a (sacrificial) fire. The earth is its wood ; fire (its) smoke ; night, (its) flame ; the moon, (its) embres ; the constellations, (its)

अथैनमग्नये हरन्ति । तस्याग्निरेवाग्निर्भवति । समित्समित् । धूमो धूमः । अर्चिरार्चिः । अङ्गारा अङ्गाराः । विस्फुलिङ्गा विस्फुलिङ्गाः ।
३ तस्मिन्नेतस्मिन्नग्नौ देवाः पुरुषं जुह्वति । तस्या आहुत्यै पुरुषो भास्वरवर्णः संभवति ॥ १ ॥

ते य एवमेतद्विदुर्ये चामी अरण्ये श्रद्धाँ सत्यमुपासते तेऽर्चिर-
६ भिसंभवन्ति । अर्चिषोऽहः । अन्ह् आपूर्यमाणपक्षम् । आपूर्यमाणपक्षाद्या-न्षण्मासानुदङ्ङादित्य एति । मासेभ्यो देवलोकम् । देवलोकादादित्यम् । आदित्याद्वैद्युतम् । तान्वैद्युतान्पुरुषो मानस एत्य ब्रह्मलोकान्गमयति । ते तेषु
९ ब्रह्मलोकेषु पराः परावतो वसन्ति । तेषां न पुनरावृत्तिः ॥ १५ ॥

अथ ये यज्ञेन दानेन तपसा लोकाञ्जयन्ति ते धूममभिसंभवन्ति । धूमाद्रात्रिम् । रात्रेरपक्षीयमाणपक्षम् । अपक्षीयमाणपक्षाद्यान्षण्मासान्द-

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sparks. In that fire, so (described) gods offer rain. Out of that oblation springs up food.

(14) Then they offer him into the (sacrificial) fire. Of him fire itself is fire; smoke, smoke; flame, flame; embres, embres; sparks, sparks. In that fire so (described), gods offer man. Out of that oblation springs up the man of bright complexion.

(15) Now those, who know this as such, and who yonder in the forest practise faith (and) truth, go into the flame. From flame, to the day; from the day, to the bright half of the month; from the bright half of the month, to that half-year during which the sun goes northwards : from those months, to world of gods; from the world of gods, to the sun : from the sun, to the (region) of the lightning. A man consisting of intelligence, approaches those that have gone to the region of lightning and leads them to the worlds of *Brahman*. In the worlds of *Brahman*, they dwell on the highest heights. For them there is no returning (to this mortal world).

(16) But those, who win worlds with sacrifice, gift (and) austerity, go into the smoke; from smoke, to night; from night, to the dark half of the month; from the dark half of the month, to the six-months during which the sun

क्षिणादित्य एति । मासेभ्यः पितृलोकम् । पितृलोकाच्चन्द्रम् । ते चन्द्रं प्राप्यान्नं भवन्ति । ताँस्तत्र देवा यथा सोमँराजानमाप्यायस्वापक्षीस्वे-त्येवमेनाँस्तत्र भक्षयन्ति । तेषां यदा तत्पर्यवैत्यथेममेवाकाशमभिनिष्पद्यन्ते । ३
आकाशाद्वायुम् । वायोर्वृष्टिम् । वृष्टेः पृथिवीम् । ते पृथिवीं प्राप्यान्नं भवन्ति । ते पुनः पुरुषाग्नौ हूयन्ते । ततो योषाग्नौ जायन्ते । लोकान्प्रत्यु-त्थायिनस्त एवमेवानुपरिवर्तन्ते । अथ य एतौ पन्थानौ न विदुस्ते कीटाः ६
पतङ्गा यदिदं दन्दशूकम् ॥ १६ ॥

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goes southward : from (these) months, to the world of fathers; from the world of fathers to the moon. On reaching the moon, they become food. There gods consume them as (they do) the king *Soma* with (the words) wax (and) wane. When that (merit) of them is over, then is this very ether they come. From ether to wind; from wind to rain; from rain to earth. On reaching the earth they become food. Again they are offered into the fire in the form of man. Thence they are born in the fire in the form of the woman. Springing up (thus) again in the world, in this very manner they move in a circle.

Those, however, who know neither of these (two) paths, (spring as) insects that crawl, fly or what bites.

4 A

कौटिलीय अर्थशास्त्र

जनपदनिवेशः

भूतपूर्वमभूतपूर्वं वा जनपदं परदेशापवाहनेन स्वदेशाभिष्यन्दवमनेन वा निवेशयेत् । शूद्रकर्षकप्रायं कुलशतावरं पञ्चशतकुलपरं ग्रामं क्रोशा-
३ द्विक्रोशसीमानमन्योन्यारक्षं निवेशयेत् । नदीशैलवनगृष्टिसेतुबन्धशाल्मली-शमीक्षीरवृक्षान् अन्तेषु सीम्नां स्थापयेत् । अष्टशतग्राम्या मध्ये स्थानीयं, चतुःशतग्राम्या द्रोणमुखं, द्विशतग्राम्याः खार्वटिकं, दशग्रामीसंग्रहेण
६ संग्रहणं स्थापयेत् । अन्तेषु अन्तपालदुर्गाणि जनपदद्वाराण्यन्तपालाधिष्ठि-तानि स्थापयेत् ।

तेषामन्तराणि हागुरिकशवरपुलिन्दचण्डालारण्यचरा रक्षेयुः ।

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4 A

Kautilīya Arthaśāstra II. 1.

Formation of Villages.

(The king) may form villages either on new sites (*bhūtapūrvam*) or on old ruins (*Abhūtapūrvam*), by inducing (people from) foreign lands to immigrate or by an exodus of the excess (population) of one's own lands. (He) shall form a village mostly consisting of *śūdras* and agricultural people, having a minimum of a hundred families and a maximum of five hundred, with boundaries extending as far as a *krośa* or two, and capable of (affording) protection to one another. At the ends of the boundaries (he) shall have a river, a mountain, a forest, a bulbous plant, a cavern, an embankment, a *śālmalī* tree, a *śamī* tree or a tree exuding (sap resembling) milk. (He) shall establish a *sthānīya* in the midst of a group of eight hundred villages ; a *droṇamukha* in the midst of a group of four hundred villages ; a *kārvaṭika* in the midst of a group of two hundred villages ; (and) a *saṃgrahaṇa* in the midst of a group of ten villages. At the frontiers (he) shall establish frontier fortresses, commanded by a frontier officer, (serving as) entrances to the villages. The regions in between them fowlers, *śabaras, pulindas, caṇḍālas* and (other) foresters shall guard.

ऋत्विगाचार्यपुरोहितश्रोत्रियेभ्यो ब्रह्मदेयानि अदण्डकराण्याभिरूपदायकानि प्रयच्छेत्। अध्यक्षसंख्यायकादिभ्यो गोपस्थानीकानीकस्थचिकित्सकाश्वदमकजङ्घारिकैभ्यश्च विक्रयाधानवर्जम्। करदेभ्यः ३ कृतक्षेत्राणि ऐकपुरुषिकाणि प्रयच्छेत्। अकृतानि कर्तृभ्यो नादेयात्। अकृषतामाच्छिद्यान्येभ्यः प्रयच्छेत्। ग्रामभृतकवैदेहका वा कृषेयुः। अकृषन्तोऽपहीनं दद्युः। धान्यपशुहिरण्यैश्चैनाननुगृह्णीयात्। तान्यनु सुखेन दद्युः। ६ अनुग्रहपरिहारौ चैभ्यः कोशवृद्धिकरौ दद्यात्। कोशोपघातिकौ च वर्जयेत्। अल्पकोशो हि राजा पौरजानपदानेव ग्रसते। निवेशसमकालं यथागतकं वा परिहारं दद्यात्। निवृत्तपरिहारान् पितेवानुगृह्णीयात्। ९

आकरकर्मान्तद्रव्यहस्तिवनव्रजवणिक्पथप्रचारान् वारिस्थलपथपण्यपत्तनानि च निवेशयेत्। सहोदकमाहार्योदकं वा सेतुं बन्धयेत्।

To *ṛtvik, ācārya, purohita* and *śrotriya* (he) shall grant *brahmadeyas* yielding sufficient (produce), and exempt from taxes and fines. To Superintendents, *saṃkhyāyakas* and other (officers) and to *gopa, sthānika, anīkastha,* the physician, the horse-trainer and the runner also (he) shall grant (lands) (but) without (the right to part with them by) sale or mortgage. To tax-payers (he) shall grant lands brought under cultivation only for life. (Lands) not brought under cultivation (he) shall not take away from those who bring them under cultivation. Taking away (the lands) from non-cultivators, he shall bestow them on others (who will cultivate them). Or village labourers and traders shall (be allowed to) cultivate them. The non-cultivating (owners) shall pay fine. He (i. e. the king) shall favour them with grains, cattle and gold. They may repay (the same) at (their) convenience. He shall bestow on them (only such) favours and remissions as will tend to swell the treasury ; and shall avoid such as will tend to deplete it. For a king with depleted treasury consumes the citizens and the country-people themselves. Or he shall give remission at the very time of the new settlement or according to the occasions (as they arise). Those who have passed the period or remission he shall treat like a father.

He shall also form (or establish) mining operations, timber and elephant forests, places for cattle breeding and

अन्येषां वा बध्नतां मूमिमार्गवृक्षोपकरणानुग्रहं कुर्यात्। पुण्यस्थानारामाणां च। संभूयसेतुबन्धादपक्रामतः कर्मकरबलीवर्दाः कर्म कुर्युः। व्ययकर्मणि ३ च भागी स्यात्। न चांशं लभेत। मत्स्यप्लवहारितपण्यानां सेतुषु राजा स्वाम्यं गच्छेत्।

दासाहितकबन्धूनशृण्वतो राजा विनयं ग्राहयेत्। बालवृद्धव्याधि ६ तव्यसन्यनाथांश्च राजा बिभृयात्। स्त्रियमप्रजातां प्रजातायाश्च पुत्रान्। बालद्रव्यं ग्रामवृद्धा वर्धयेयुरा व्यवहारप्रापणात्। देवद्रव्यं च।

अपत्यदारं मातापितरौ भ्रातॄनप्राप्तव्यवहारान् भगिनीः कन्या विधवा- ९ श्चाबिभ्रतः शक्तिमतो द्वादशपणो दण्डः। अन्यत्र पतितेभ्यः। अन्यत्र मातुः। पुत्रदारमप्रतिविधाय प्रव्रजतः पूर्वः साहसदण्डः। स्त्रियं च प्रव्राजयतः। लुप्तव्यवायः प्रव्रजेदापृच्छ्य धर्मस्थान्। अन्यथा नियम्येत।

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commerce, and roads by land as well as by water, and market towns. He shall also cause to be built reservoirs with (natural springs of) water or (to be filled) with water drawn (from some other source). Others constructing (them) he shall favour with sites, roads, timber and (other) implements. So also (in the construction) of holy places and public gardens. (On behalf) of one who stays away from a co-operative construction of reservoirs, (his servants and bullocks) shall do the work. He shall have (to bear his) share in the expenditure ; but shall not get a share (in the profit). The king shall have ownership of fishing, ferrying, and trade in green vegetables in the reservoirs.

The king shall bring to book *dāsas, āhitakas,* and relatives if they do not obey. The king shall provide maintenance for the minor, the aged, the sick, the *vyasanin*, and the destitute. (He shall provide maintenance) for a woman who has not (yet) delivered and also the children of (a woman) who has delivered. The property of a minor the elders of the village shall enhance till the attainment of majority (by him). So also the property of (the temples of) gods.

Twelve *paṇas* is the fine for one who, though capable, does not maintain his children and wife, parents, brothers

वानप्रस्थादन्यः प्रव्रजितभावः, साजात्यादन्यः संघः, सामुत्थायकादन्यः समयानुबन्धो वा नास्य जनपदमुपनिवेशेत। न च तत्रारामविहारार्थाः शालाः स्युः। नटनर्तनगायनवादनवाग्जीवनकुशीलवा वा न कर्मविघ्नं कुर्युः। निराश्रयत्वाद् ग्रामाणां क्षेत्राभिरतत्वाच्च पुरुषाणां कोशविष्टिद्रव्यधान्यरसवृद्धिर्भवतीति। ३

परचक्राटवीग्रस्तं व्याधिदुर्भिक्षपीडितम्।
देशं परिहरेद्राजा व्ययक्रीडाश्च वारयेत्॥ ६
दण्डविष्टिकराबाधै रक्षेदुपहतां कृषिम्।
स्तेनव्यालविषग्राहैर्व्याधिभिश्च पशुव्रजान्॥ ९

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who have not attained majority, and sisters virgin or widowed, provided they are not apostate. (This rule applies to all the relatives) except the mother. For one who turns a recluse without providing a maintenance for his children and wife, the fine is the lower amercement. So also for one who converts a woman to asceticism. One who has passed (the age of copulation), may turn a recluse after distributing his rightful property. Otherwise he shall be punished.

No hermit other than a *vānaprastha,* no association other than one of *sājātya,* no guild other than local co-operative guilds, shall enter into his villages. Nor shall there be buildings for rest and play or sport. Nor shall actors, dancers, singers, musicians, *vāg-jīvanas* and bards cause obstacles in the work (of the villagers). (For) owing to the villages being void of any resting places and owing to the men (of the village) being fully engaged in the fields only, there is the enhancement of *kośa, viṣṭi, dravya, dhānya* and *rasa.*

A king shall avoid a land infested with foreign invasion and wild tribes, harassed by diseases and famine. He shall also ward off expensive sports.

He shall protect agriculture (from being) paralysed by the oppressive fines, free labour, and taxes ; and herds of cattle from (being molested by) thieves, tigers, poisonous reptiles and diseases.

He shall clear up roads of traffic beset with courtiers,

वल्लभैः कार्मिकैः स्तेनैरन्तपालैश्च पीडितम् ।
शोधयेत् पशुसंघैश्च क्षीयमाणं वणिक्पथम् ॥
३ एवं द्रव्यं द्विपवनं सेतुबन्धमथाकरान् ।
रक्षेत् पूर्वकृतान् राजा नवांश्चाभिप्रवर्तयेत् ॥

इति श्रीकौटिलीयेऽर्थशास्त्रेऽध्यक्षप्रचारे द्वितीयाधिकरणे जनपद-
६ निवेशो नाम प्रथमोऽध्यायः । आदितो द्वाविंशः ।

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4 B

कौटिलीय अर्थशास्त्र ६.१

प्रकृतिसम्पदः

स्वाम्यमात्यजनपददुर्गकोशदण्डमित्राणि प्रकृतयः ।

तत्र स्वामिसम्पत् । महाकुलीनो दैवबुद्धिसत्त्वसंपन्नो वृद्धदर्शी धार्मिकः सत्यवागविसंवादकः कृतज्ञः स्थूललक्षो महोत्साहोऽदीर्घसूत्रः

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workmen, robbers, and boundary guards ; and repair the same as it is being devastated by herds of cattle.

Thus the king shall protect (i. e. keep in good condition) timber and elephant forests, reservoirs of water, and mines already created in the past and shall also set up new ones.

Thus ends Chapter I *'Formation of Villages'* in Book II, *Duties of Superintendants* of the *Arthaśāstra* of *Kauṭilya*. (End of the 22nd chapter from the beginning).

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4 B

Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra VI. 1.

The Ideal of the Elements of Sovereignty.

The king, the minister, the country, the fort, the treasury, the army and the friend are the elements of sovereignty.

Of these, the ideal (*Sampat*) of a king (is as follows) :—

Born of a very high or noble race, endowed with godly disposition and valour, seeing (i. e. consulting persons) ripe (in knowledge and age), religious-minded, true of word, not of a contradictory nature, not procrastinating,

शक्यसामन्तो दृढबुद्धिरक्षुद्रपरिषत्को विनयकाम इत्याभिगामिका गुणाः ।
शुश्रूषाश्रवणग्रहणधारणविज्ञानोहापोहतत्त्वाभिनिवेशाः प्रज्ञागुणाः । शौर्यम-
मर्षः शीघ्रता दाक्ष्यं चोत्साहगुणाः । प्रज्ञाप्रगल्भः स्मृतिमतिबलवानुदग्रः
स्ववग्रहः कृतशिल्पो व्यसने दण्डनाय्युपकारापकारयोर्दृष्टप्रतीकारी ह्रीमाना-
पत्प्रकृत्योर्विनियोक्ता दीर्घदूरदर्शी देशकालपुरुषकारकार्यप्रदानः संधि-
विक्रमत्यागसंयमपणपरच्छिद्रविभागी संवृतोदीनामिहास्यजिह्मभृकुटीक्षणः
कामक्रोधलोभस्तम्भचापलोपतापपैशुन्यहीनः शक्यस्मितोदग्राभिभाषी वृद्धो-
पदेशाचार इत्यात्मसम्पत् ।

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having neighbouring princes under control, grateful, having a high aim, very enthusiastic, firm of resolve, having a liking for discipline—these are the qualities of an inviting nature.

Inquiry, hearing, grasping, retention, comprehension, inference, exclusion and adherence to the correct view (of things)—these are the qualities of intellect.

Valour, determination of purpose, alacrity, diligence, are the qualities of enthusiasm.

Advanced in intellect, having strong memory and keen penetration, magnanimous, well-versed in arts, leader of the forces in (times of) calamity, taking effective steps to retaliate good and bad turns (done to him by others), possessed of dignity, employer of (remedies) in circumstances adverse or normal, possessed of keen fore-sight, mainly engrossed in valorous or powerful activities (befitting) the time and the place, well-versed in (the employment of) peace, military expedition, gifts, control, condition, and the weak points of others, (having his plans) well-covered (or secret), indulging in jokes in a not undignified manner, having a straight and not frowning look, above the vices viz. passion, wrath, avarice, stupefaction, frailty, *upatāpa*, and wickedness, affable in his talk, giving a frank and smiling talk, and observing customs according to the instruction of the old (sires)—These constitute the fulness (*sampat*) of (the qualities of the king) himself.

अमात्यसम्पदुक्ता पुरस्तात् ।

मध्ये चान्ते च स्थानवानात्मधारण: परधारणश्चापदि स्वारक्ष:
३ स्वाजीव: शत्रुद्वेषी शक्यसामन्त: पङ्कपाषाणोषरविषमकण्टकश्रेणीव्याल
मृगाटवीहीन: कान्त: सीताखनिद्रव्यहस्तिवनवान् गव्य: पौरुषेयो गुप्तगोचर:
पशुमानदेवमातृको वारिस्थलपथाभ्यामुपेत: सारचित्रबहुपण्यो भक्तशुचि-
६ मनुष्य इति जनपदसम्पत् ।

दुर्गसम्पदुक्ता पुरस्तात् ।

धर्माधिगत: पूर्वै: स्वयं वा हेमरूप्यप्रायश्चित्रस्थूलरत्नहिरण्यो
९ दीर्घामप्यापदमनायतिं सहेतेति कोशसम्पत् ।

The fulness (of the qualities) of minister have been stated before.

Having (secure) places both inside as well as at the frontiers, capable of sustaining itself and also of sustaining other (*janapadas*), easy of protection and easily affording livelihood in adverse circumstances, hating the enemy, capable of controlling the neighbouring princes, free from mire, rocky tracts, deserts, uneven lands, gangs of conspirators, tigers, wild beasts, and forests, attractive, endowed with fertile lands, mines, timber and elephant forests, good for cattle, good for men, possessed of hidden (passages), rich in cattle, not depending on rain for water, having land as well as water communications, yielding valuable, varied and abundant commodities, capable of standing (the burden of) the army and the taxes, inhabited by agriculturists industrious by nature, having intelligent (lit. not childish) masters, mostly populated by persons of inferior castes, and by loyal and upright persons-these constitute the fulness of the (qualities of the) *janapada*.

The ideal of a fort has been stated before.

Rightfully obtained by (his) ancestors or by himself, abounding of gold and silver, having varied and big gems and gold (coins), (and one that) would stand even a long calamity destitute of income—these form the fulness of (the qualities of the) treasury.

पितृपैतामहो नित्यो वश्यस्तुष्टभृतपुत्रदारः प्रवासेष्वविसंवादितः सर्वत्राप्रतिहतो दुःखसहो बहुयुद्धः सर्वयुद्धप्रहरणविद्याविशारदः सहवृद्धि-क्षयिकत्वादद्वैध्यः क्षत्रप्राय इति दण्डसम्पत्। ३

पितृपैतामहं नित्यं वश्यमद्वैध्यं महल्लघुसमुत्थमिति मित्रसम्पत्।

अराजबीजलुब्धः क्षुद्रपरिषत्को विरक्तप्रकृतिरन्यायवृत्तिरयुक्तो व्यसनी निरुत्साहो दैवप्रमाणो यत्किञ्चनकार्यगतिरननुबन्धः क्लीबो नित्यापकारी चेत्यमित्रसम्पत्। एवंभूतो हि शत्रुः सुखः समुच्छेत्तुं भवति। ६

अरिवर्जाः प्रकृतयः सप्तैताः स्वगुणोदयाः।
उक्ताः प्रत्यङ्गभूतास्ताः प्रकृता राजसम्पदः॥ ९

Coming down from father and grand-father (i. e. hereditary), ever ready, obedient, having wives and sons well fed and (hence) well-contented, agreeable even on occasions of going away from home, un-repulsed anywhere, capable of standing strain, experienced in several wars, expert in warfare of all kinds and in the art of wielding all kinds of weapons, not open to dissention owing to its sharing prosperity or destruction with (the king) and mostly consisting of persons of the *kṣatriya* caste—such is the ideal of the army.

Hereditary, ever ready, obedient, not open to dissention, great and yet quick in the preparations for war—such is the ideal of a friend.

Not of royal blood, avaricious, having a council of unworthy ministers, having disloyal subjects, unrighteous in his conduct, uncontrolled, addicted to vices, wanting in enthusiasm, depending upon luck, doing any thing (thoughtlessly); helpless, having no support, impotent, ever doing wrong (to others)—these constitute the fulness of the (qualities of an) enemy. For such an enemy is easy to uproot.

These elements except the (element of) enemy, seven in number, described (above), when they become subservient to one another and are in full activity, (comprise) the fulness of the king (with all his other elements of sovereignty).

सम्पादयत्यसम्पन्नाः प्रकृतीरात्मवान् नृपः ।
विवृद्धाश्चानुरक्ताश्च प्रकृतीर्हन्त्यनात्मवान् ॥

३ ततः स दुष्टप्रकृतिश्चातुरन्तोऽप्यनात्मवान् ।
हन्यते वा प्रकृतिभिर्याति वा द्विषतां वशम् ॥

आत्मवांस्त्वल्पदेशोऽपि युक्तः प्रकृतिसम्पदा ।
६ नयज्ञः पृथिवीं कृत्स्नां जयत्येव न हीयते ॥

इति श्रीकौटिलीयेऽर्थशास्त्रे मण्डलयोनौ षष्ठेऽधिकरणे प्रकृतिसम्पदो नाम प्रथमोऽध्यायः । आदितः सप्तनवतितमः ।

A king possessed of self leads to fulness (even) the defective elements ; while a king, not so endowed, destroys the elements though well flourishing and devoted or loyal.

Then that (king) with (his) elements contaminated, (and) not possessed of self, though an emperor of the whole earth (bounded by the four oceans) is either destroyed by (his own) elements or falls into the clutches of the enemies.

A king, possessed of self, on the other hand, and united with the fulness of the elements, and conversant with the science of polity, though possessed of a small territory, conquers the whole earth, to be sure (eva), (and) is never on the wane.

Thus ends Chapter I *'The Ideal of the Elements of Sovereignty'* in Book VI *'The Source of Sovereign States'* of the *Arthaṣāstra* of *Kauṭilya*. (End of the ninety-seventh chapter from the beginning).

ब्रह्मसूत्र–शाङ्करभाष्य २. १, ४–९

विलक्षणत्वाधिकरणम् ।

न, विलक्षणत्वादस्य; तथात्वं च शब्दात् ॥ ४ ॥

ब्रह्मास्य जगतो निमित्तकारणं प्रकृतिश्चेत्यस्य पक्षस्याक्षेपः स्मृतिनिमित्तः परिहृतः तर्कनिमित्त इदानीमाक्षेपः परिह्रियते । कुतः पुनरस्मिन्नवधारित आगमार्थे तर्कनिमित्तस्याक्षेपस्यावकाशः । ननु धर्म इव ३ ब्रह्मण्यप्यनपेक्ष आगमो भवितुमर्हति । भवेदयमवष्टम्भो यदि प्रमाणान्तरानवगाह्य आगममात्रप्रमेयोऽयमर्थः स्यात्, अनुष्ठेयरूप इव धर्मः । परिनिष्पन्नरूपं तु ब्रह्मावगम्यते । परिनिष्पन्ने च वस्तुनि प्रमाणान्त- ६ राणामस्त्यवकाशो यथा पृथिव्यादिषु । यथाच श्रुतीनां परस्परविरोधे

Brahmasūtra-Śāṅkarabhāṣya II. i. 4-9

The Topic of Disparity.

Not (so,) because of the disparity of this (world from Brahman); and its being so (is known) from the Scripture. 4.

(In the last section) has been refuted the objection based on *smṛtis* against the view that *Brahman* is both the efficient as well as the constituent cause of this world. Now is (to be) refuted the objection based on reasoning.

But whence can there be any scope for an objection based upon reasoning in (the case of) this Scriptural view already established? Should Scripture not be (regarded as) independent (authority) as regards *Brahman* even as (it is) as regards *Dharma*?

This might be an (effective) stand (*avaṣṭambha*) (against our view) if, like *Dharma* which is (essentially something) to be accomplished, this matter (i. e. Brahman) also were to be comprehensible only by Scripture and not fathomable by any other means of knowledge. But *Brahman* is known to be essentially something that is already accomplished. And in (the case of) matter already accompli-

स्यैकवशेनेतरा नीयन्ते, एवं प्रमाणान्तरविरोधेऽपि तद्वशेनैव श्रुतिर्नीयेत। दृष्टसाम्येन चादृष्टमर्थं समर्थयन्ती युक्तिरनुभवस्य संनिकृष्यते, विप्रकृष्यते
३ तु श्रुतिरैतिह्यमात्रेण स्वार्थाभिधानात्। अनुभवावसानं च ब्रह्मविज्ञानमविद्याया निवर्तकं मोक्षसाधनं च दृष्टफलतयेष्यते। श्रुतिरपि 'श्रोतव्यो मन्तव्यः।' (बृ. २. ४. ५) इति श्रवणव्यतिरेकेण मननं विदधती
६ तर्कमप्यत्रादर्तव्यं दर्शयति। अतस्तर्कनिमित्तः पुनराक्षेपः क्रियते—न, विलक्षणत्वादस्य, इति।

यदुक्तम्, चेतनं ब्रह्म जगतः कारणं प्रकृतिरिति, तन्नोपपद्यते।
९ कस्मात्। विलक्षणत्वादस्य विकारस्य प्रकृत्याः। इदं हि ब्रह्मकार्यत्वेना-

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shed and existing, as for example in (the case of) the earth &c., other means of proof (also) have (their) scope. Just as, then, in the case of mutual conflict among Scriptural passages, (all) other (passages) are interpreted in conformity with one (particular passage), so also in the case of a conflict (of a Scriptural passage) with the other means of proof the Scriptural passage should be interpreted in conformity with the latter. The more so (*ca*), for establishing an unseen matter on the analogy of (some) seen (matter) as it does, reasoning comes closer to direct experience; but Scriptural passage is farther removed (from it) as it conveys its matter only on the basis of *aitihya* (hearsay). And knowledge of *Brahman*, consummating in realisation (alone), is accepted (lit. desired) as dispelling nescience and a means to liberation; because (thus alone) it becomes endowed with a tangible fruit. Even Scripture enjoining *manana* in addition to (mere) hearing, in the words '(the Ātman) should be heard, should be reflected on........' shows reasoning also as being worthy of acceptance. Hence an objection is raised again on the basis of reasoning (in the words): 'Not (so), because of the disparity of this (world from *Brahman*).'

The statement, that the sentient *Brahman* is both the (efficient) cause as well as the material cause of the world, is not plausible. Why? Because of the disparity of this product (i. e. the world) from the material cause (i. e.

मिप्रेयमाणं जगद्ब्रह्मविलक्षणमचेतनमशुद्धं च दृश्यते, ब्रह्म च जगद्विलक्षणं चेतनं शुद्धं च श्रूयते। नच विलक्षणत्वे प्रकृतिविकारभावो दृष्टः। नहि रुचकादयो विकारा मृत्प्रकृतिका भवन्ति, शरावादयो वा सुवर्णप्रकृतिकाः। ३ मृदैव तु मृदन्विता विकाराः क्रियन्ते, सुवर्णेन च सुवर्णान्विताः। तथेदमपि जगदचेतनं सुखदुःखमोहान्वितं सत् अचेतनस्यैव सुखदुःखमोहात्मकस्य कारणस्य कार्यं भवितुमर्हतीति न विलक्षणस्य ब्रह्मणः।२ ६

ब्रह्मविलक्षणत्वं चास्य जगतोऽशुद्ध्यचेतनत्वदर्शनादवगन्तव्यम्। अशुद्धं हि जगत् सुखदुःखमोहात्मकतया प्रीतिपरितापविषादादिहेतुत्वात् स्वर्गनरकाद्युच्चावचप्रपञ्चत्वाच्च। अचेतनं चेदं जगत्, चेतनं प्रति ९

Brahman). For this world, (that is) assumed to be a product of *Brahman*, is observed (to be) insentient and impure (and as such) disparate-in-nature from *Brahman*. *Brahman*, on the other hand, is declared by Scripture (*śrūyate*) (to be) sentient and pure (and as such) disparate-in-nature from the world. And the relation of (constituent) cause and effect is never found (to subsist) between (things having) disparity in nature. For products like *rucaka* have not clay for their constituent cause; nor products like *Śarāva* have gold for their constituent cause. Products pervaded by clay are made up of clay only, and those pervaded by gold (are made up) of gold. Similarly this world also, insentient and pervaded by (the characteristics of) pleasure, pain and delusion, must naturally be (lit. deserves to be) the product of a (constituent) cause which is insentient and pervaded by (the characteristics of) pleasure, pain and delusion, and not of *Brahman*, (which is) disparate in nature (from it).

The disparity of *Brahman* (from this world) can be known from an observation of the world's impurity and non-sentience. For the world is impure owing to its being the cause of satisfaction, affliction and dejection on account of its being constituted of pleasure, pain and delusion, and also because it comprises the (whole) expanse, high and low, consisting of heaven, hell &c. This world is, moreover, non-sentient, because it assumes the role of a tool for

कार्यकरणभावेनोपकरणभावोपगमात्। नहि साम्ये सत्युपकार्योपकारक-
भावो भवति। नहि प्रदीपौ परस्परस्योपकुरुतः। ननु चेतनमपि
३ कार्यकरणं स्वामिभृत्यन्यायेन भोक्तुरुपकरिष्यति। न। स्वामि-
भृत्ययोरप्यचेतनांशस्यैव चेतनं प्रत्युपकारकत्वात्। यो ह्येकस्य
चेतनस्य परिग्रहो बुद्ध्यादिरचेतनभागः स एवान्यस्य चेतनस्योपकरोति,
६ नतु स्वयमेव चेतनश्चेतनान्तरस्योपकरोत्यपकरोति वा। निरतिशया
ह्यकर्तारश्चेतना इति सांख्या मन्यन्ते। तस्मादचेतनं कार्यकरणम्। नच
काष्ठलोष्टादीनां चेतनत्वे किंचित् प्रमाणमस्ति। प्रसिद्धश्चायं चेतनाचेतन-
९ विभागो लोके। तस्माद्ब्रह्मविलक्षणत्वान्नेदं जगत् तत्प्रकृतिकम्।

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the sentient (soul) in the capacity of instrument of activity. For there can be no relation of the principal and the auxiliary among (things that have) parity in nature. For two burning torches (for instance) do not subserve the purpose of one another.

But can the instrument of activity, though sentient, not subserve the purpose of the experiencing (soul) on the analogy of the (sentient) servant (serving the purpose of his) master ? No. In the case of the master and the servant also, it is the non-sentient factor (of the servant) alone that subserves the purpose of the sentient (master). For it is the insentient factor such as intelligence, etc., (which is) the possession of one sentient (being) that subserves the purpose of the other sentient (being). Never, however, does a sentient (being) himself become subservient or otherwise to another sentient (being). For the *Sāṁkhyas* maintain that the sentient (souls) are *niratiśaya* and devoid of (all) activity. Non-sentient, therefore, is the instrument of activity.

Nor is there any valid proof in (support of) the sentience of wood, lump of clay, etc. Welknown, moreover, is this distinction of the sentient and the non-sentient in the world. Therefore, because of (its) disparity in nature from *Brahman* this world cannot have that (i. e. *Brahman*) as its constituent cause.

योऽपि कश्चिदाचक्षीत, 'श्रुत्वा जगतश्चेतनप्रकृतिकतां तद्बलेनैव समस्तं जगश्चेतनमवगमयिष्यामि, प्रकृतिरूपस्य विकारेऽन्वयदर्शनात्। अविभावनं तु चैतन्यस्य परिणामविशेषाद्भविष्यति। यथा स्पष्टचैतन्यानामप्यात्मनां स्वापमूर्च्छाद्यवस्थासु चैतन्यं न विभाव्यते, एवं काष्ठलोष्टादीनामपि चैतन्यं न विभावयिष्यते। एतस्मादेव च विभावितविभावितत्वकृताद्विशेषाद्रूपादिभावाभावाभ्यां च कार्यकरणानामात्मनां च चेतनत्वाविशेषेऽपि गुणप्रधानभावो न विरोत्स्यते। यथा च पार्थिवत्वाविशेषेऽपि मांससूपौदनादीनां प्रत्यात्मवर्तिनो विशेषात् परस्परोपकारित्वं भवति, एवमिहापि भविष्यति। प्रविभागप्रसिद्धिरप्यत एव न विरोत्स्यते—इति' तेनापि

As for one who would declare : Having known from the Scripture (*śrutvā*) that the world has the sentient (*Brahman*) for its constituent cause, on that very basis shall I conclude that the (whole) world is sentient (itself), inasmuch the nature of the constituent cause is observed to run through the product (also). As for the non-manifestation of sentience (in some sections) it shall be (explained) on the basis of (the assumption of) a particular type of transformation. Just as even (in the case) of the souls of admitted sentience, the sentience is not manifestly perceived in the states of sleep, swoon, etc., similarly will the sentience of wood, lump of clay, etc., not be manifestly perceived. It is on account of this very distinction caused by the manifestation and the non-manifestation (of sentience) and also on account of the presence and the absence of form &c. that the relation of the principal and the subsidiary can be assumed as subsisting between the instruments of activity on the one hand and the souls on the other without any contradiction, inspite of being on a par as regards sentience. Just as flesh, soup, rice &c. though equal as regards earthliness, have (yet) the capacity of serving the purpose of one another owing to the distinction (i. e. distinct properties) existing in each one of them, so also will be (the case) here. Thus again will there be no contradiction (of our view) with the well-known distinction (of the sentient and the non-sentient, referred to above). Even he (i. e. a person arguing as above) will some how (be able to) explain away

कथंचिच्चेतनाचेतनत्वलक्षणं विलिक्षणत्वं परिह्रियेत । शुद्ध्यशुद्धित्वलक्षणं तु विलक्षणत्वं नैव परिह्रियते ।

३ नचेतरदपि विलक्षणत्वं परिहर्तु शक्यत इत्याह 'तथात्वं च शब्दा-दिति । अनवगम्यमानमेव हीदं लोके समस्तस्य वस्तुनश्चेतनत्वं चेतनप्रकृति-कत्वश्रवणाच्छब्दशरणतया केवलयोत्प्रेक्ष्यते । तच्च शब्देनैव विरुध्यते, यतः

६ शब्दादपि तथात्वमवगम्यते । तथात्वमिति प्रकृतिविलक्षणत्वं कथयति । शब्द एव 'विज्ञानं चाविज्ञानं च' (तै. २. ६) इति कस्यचिद्विभागस्या-चेतनतां श्रावयंश्चेतनाद्ब्रह्मणो विलक्षणमचेतनं जगच्छ्रावयति ।। ४ ।।

९ ननु चेतनत्वमपि क्वचिदचेतनत्वाभिमतानां भूतेन्द्रियाणां श्रूयते, यथा 'मृदब्रवीत्' । 'आपोऽब्रुवन्' । इति (श० प० ब्रा० ६.१.३. २, ४), 'तत्तेज ऐक्षत' । 'ता आप ऐक्षन्त' । इति (छा० ६.२.३, ४)

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the disparity on the score of the sentience (of *Brahman*) and the non-sentience (of the world). But the disparity on the score of the purity (of *Brahman*) and the impurity (of the world) cannot certainly be removed (by him).

Nor is the other disparity also possible to explain away, says (the *Sūtrakāra*) in the words (*iti*), '(Its) being so (is known) from the Scripture.' The sentience of all things in the world, though nowhere perceived (by anybody), is presumed merely on the scriptural declaration of the sentient (*Brahman*) being the constituent cause (of the world) owing to the Scripture being (to you) the (last) resort (i. e. the highest authority). But (*ca*) it is contradicted by the Scripture itself. For even from the Scripture 'its being so' is known. By 'its being so' (the *Sūtrakāra*) means the disparity from the constituent cause. Scripture itself asserting the non-sentience of some portion (of the world) and the sentience (of the rest) in the words 'The intelligent and the non-intelligent', declares that the world is non-sentient (and as such) disparate is nature from *Brahman* (which is) sentient. 4

But is not in some places in the Scripture sentience predicated of the elements and the sense-organs, admitted (by all) as being non-sentient ? As, for example, 'The earth said', 'The Waters said', (or) 'The Light saw', 'The

चवमाद्या भूतविषया चेतनत्वश्रुतिः । इन्द्रियविषयापि 'ते हेमे प्राणा अहंश्रेयसे विवदमाना ब्रह्म जग्मुः' । इति (बृ० ६·१·७), ते ह वाचमूचुस्त्वं न उद्गायेति । इति (बृ० १·३·२) एवमाद्येन्द्रियविषयति । ३
अत उत्तरं पठति—

अभिमानिव्यपदेशस्तु विशेषानुगतिभ्याम् ॥ ५ ॥

तुशब्द आशङ्कामपनुदति । न खलु मृदब्रवीदित्येवंजातीयकया ६ श्रुत्या भूतेन्द्रियाणां चेतनत्वमाशङ्कनीयम् । यतोऽभिमानिव्यपदेश एषः । मृदाद्यभिमानिन्यो वागाद्यभिमानिन्यश्च चेतना देवता वदनसंवदनादिषु चेतनोचितेषु व्यवहारेषु व्यपदिश्यन्ते, न भूतेन्द्रियमात्रम् । कस्मात् । विशेषानुगति- ९ भ्याम् । विशेषो हि भोक्तॄणां भूतेन्द्रियाणां च चेतनाचेतनप्रविभागलक्षणः

Waters saw' and such other passages predicating sentience of the elements. As regards (Scripture) pertaining to sense-organs (there are)—'Those *Prāṇas,* indeed, contending for self-supremacy, went to *Brahman'* (or) 'They said to *Vāc* : do thou chant for us' and such other (passages) pertaining to sense-organs (as being sentient). Hence (the *Sūtrakāra*) gives a reply :—

But (that is) the mention of the superintending (deity), (as can be determined) from viśeṣa and anugati. 5

The word *tu* drives away the objection. Not, indeed, on the strength of passages like 'The earth spoke' should sentience be assumed (in the case) of the elements and the sense organs. For it is only a reference to (or mention of) the superintending (divinity). It is the sentient divinities superintending the earth and other (elements) and the speech and other (sense organs) that are mentioned here in connection with activities (*vyavahāra*), such as speaking and conversing, possible in the case of sentient beings alone. Not the elements and the sense-organs alone.

On what ground (do you say so)? On account of *viśeṣa* and *anugati.*

For the distinction between the experiencing soul on the one hand and the elements and the sense-organs on the other characterised by the division of the sentient and non-sentient has been already stated before. That would be

प्रागभिहितः । सर्वचेतनतायां चासौ नोपपद्येत । अपिच कौपीतकिनः प्राणसंवादे करणमात्राशङ्काविनिवृत्तयेऽधिष्ठातृचेतनपरिग्रहाय देवताशब्देन
३ विशिषन्ति ।

'एता ह वै देवता अहंश्रेयसे विवदमानाः' ।

इति (कौ० २'१४),

६ 'ता वा एताः सर्वा देवताः प्राणे निःश्रेयसं विदित्वा' ।

इति (कौ० २'१४) च अनुगताश्च सर्वत्राभिमानिन्यश्चेतना देवता मन्त्रार्थवादेतिहासपुराणादिभ्योऽवगम्यन्ते ।

९ 'अग्निर्वाग्भूत्वा मुखं प्राविशत् ।'

इति (ऐ० आ० २'४'२४) एवमादिका च श्रुतिः करणेष्वनुग्राहिकां देवतामनुगतां दर्शयति । प्राणसंवादवाक्यशेषे च

'ते ह प्राणाः प्रजापतिं पितरमेत्योचुः ।'

१२ इति (छा० ५'१'७) श्रेष्ठत्वनिर्धारणाय प्रजापतिगमनं, तद्वचनाच्चैकैकोत्क्रमणेनान्वयव्यतिरेकाभ्यां प्राणश्रैष्ठ्यप्रतिपत्तिः,

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implausible on (the assumption of) the sentience of the whole (world). Moreover the *Kauṣītakins* in the dispute among the faculties (the passage containing it) and the qualifying expression, *devatā* (divinity) in order to ward off any possible doubt that merely the sense-organs (*karaṇa*) are meant and to ensure the acceptance of the superintending sentient (divinity) saying : 'These divinities, all (of them), having found the pre-iminence in the Life-breath.'

Again that the sentient superintending divinities are existing every where is known from *mantras, Brāhmaṇas, Arthavādas, Itihāsas, Purāṇas,* &c. A Scriptural passage like '*Agni*' becoming speech, entered the mouth' shows the guardian divinity as persisting through the sense-organs. Again in the concluding part of the passage containing the dispute of the faculties, (their) going to *Prajāpati,* for the ascertainment of the eminence (among themselves) as shown in (iti) 'The faculties, approaching their father, the *Prajāpati,* said (unto him)', and arriving at the eminence of the Life-breath through (the method of) concomitance and non-concomitance by going out (of the body)

तस्मै बलिहरणम् ।

इति चैवंजातीयकोऽस्मदादिष्विव व्यवहारोऽनुगम्यमानोऽभिमानि-व्यपदेशं द्रढयति ।

'तत्तेज ऐक्षत' । ३

इति (छा० ६.२.३) अपि परस्या एव देवताया अधिष्ठात्र्याः स्वविकारेष्वनुगताया इयमीक्षा व्यपदिश्यत इति द्रष्टव्यम् ॥ ५ ॥

तस्माद्विलक्षणमेवेदं ब्रह्मणो जगत् । विलक्षणत्वाच्च न ब्रह्मप्रकृति- ६ कमित्याक्षिप्ते प्रतिविधत्ते—

दृश्यते तु ॥ ६ ॥

तुशब्दः पक्षं व्यावर्तयति । यदुक्तं विलक्षणत्वान्नेदं जगद्ब्रह्मप्रकृति- ९ कमिति, नायमेकान्तः । दृश्यते हि लोके चेतनत्वेन प्रसिद्धेभ्यः पुरुषा-दिभ्यो विलक्षणानां केशनखादीनामुत्पत्तिः, अचेतनत्वेन च प्रसि-

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one by one according to his directions, (and) the offering of tributes to him (i. e. Life-breath)—all these and such other activities, comparable to those among us, being followed (among them) confirms (that here we have a) mention of the superintending divinities. In the text 'The Light saw' again it should be observed that this act of seeing (*īkṣā*) is mentioned as belonging to the Highest superintending divinity which is persistent into its products. 5

Thus disparate-in-nature, indeed, is the world from the *Brahman*; and owing to (this) disparity in nature. (it) cannot have *Brahman* for its constituent cause. To an objection raised thus he gives a rejoinder—

But it is observed (*like that*) *6*

The expression *tu* sets aside the (prima facie) view. The statement that owing to disparity-in-nature this world cannot have *Brahman* for its constituent cause, is not an invariable proposition (*ekāntaḥ*). For (generally) observed is the origination of the disparate-in-nature hair, nails, &c. from men &c. that are well-known among the

द्रेभ्यो गोमयादिभ्यो वृश्चिकादीनाम् । नन्वचेतनान्येव पुरुषादिशारीराण्य
चेतनानां केशनखादीनां कारणानि, अचेतनान्येव च वृश्चिकादिश-
३ रीराण्यचेतनानां गोमयादीनां कार्याणीति । उच्यते । एवमपि किंचिद-
चेतनं चेतनस्यायतनभावमुपगच्छति, किंचिन्नेत्यस्त्येव वैलक्षण्यम् ।
महांश्चायं पारिणामिकः स्वभावविप्रकर्षः पुरुषादीनां केशनखादीनां च
६ स्वरूपादिभेदात्, तथा गोमयादीनां वृश्चिकादीनां च । अत्यन्तसारूप्ये
च प्रकृतिविकारभाव एव प्रलीयेत । अथोच्येत, अस्ति कश्चित् पार्थि-
वत्वादिस्वभावः पुरुषादीनां केशनखादिष्वनुवर्तमानो गोमयादीनां वृश्चि-
९ कादिष्विति, ब्रह्मणोऽपि तर्हि सत्तालक्षणः स्वभाव आकाशादिष्वनु-
वर्तमानो दृश्यते । विलक्षणत्वेन च कारणेन ब्रह्मप्रकृतिकत्वं जगतो

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people as being sentient ; and of scorpions &c. from cow-dung &c. that are well-known as being non-sentient.

But (it is not that.) it is, indeed, the non-sentient bodies of men &c. that are the cause of the non-sentient hair, nails, &c. and it is the non-sentient bodies of scorpions &c. that are the products of the non-sentient cow-dung &c.

We reply ; Even so, there is disparity-in-nature (between the cause and the effect in the above instances) viz. that some non-sentient (thing) harbours (lit. becomes the abode of) sentience while some does not. And great indeed is this disparity-in-nature, due to the process of evolution, between men &c. on the one hand and hair, nails, &c. on the other owing to the difference of form &c. So also between cow-dung &c. on the one hand and scorpions &c. on the other. In (the case of) absolute similarity of form (between them) the relation of cause and effect will itself come to an end.

Further it is urged that there is some characteristic such as earthliness belonging to men &c. persisting among hair, nails, &c. and that of cow-dung &c. persisting among scorpions &c., then (we reply that) some characteristic of *Brahman* also viz. existence is observed as persisting among the ether &c.

Moreover (*ca*), by (the opponent) finding fault with the view of the world having *Brahman* as its constituent cause by the reason of disparity in nature, must be stated

दूषयता किमशेषस्य ब्रह्मस्वभावस्याननुवर्तनं विलक्षणत्वमभिप्रेयते, उत यस्यकस्यचित्, अथ चैतन्यस्येति वक्तव्यम्। प्रथमे विकल्पे समस्त-प्रकृतिविकारोच्छेदप्रसङ्गः। नह्यसत्यतिशये प्रकृतिविकार इति भवति। ३ द्वितीये चासिद्धत्वम्। दृश्यते हि सत्तालक्षणो ब्रह्मस्वभाव आका-शादिष्वनुवर्तमान इत्युक्तम्। तृतीये तु दृष्टान्ताभावः। किं हि यच्चैतन्येनानन्वितं तदब्रह्मप्रकृतिकं दृष्टमिति ब्रह्मवादिनं प्रत्युदाह्रियेत, ६ समस्तस्य वस्तुजातस्य ब्रह्मप्रकृतिकत्वाभ्युपगमात्। आगमविरोधस्तु प्रसिद्ध एव। चेतनं ब्रह्म जगतः कारणं प्रकृतिश्चेत्यागमतात्पर्यस्य प्रसाधितत्वात्॥ ९

यत्तूक्तं परिनिष्पन्नत्वाद्ब्रह्मणि प्रमाणान्तराणि संभवेयुरिति तदपि

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whether the disparity intended by him stands for non-inherence of the entire mass of qualities of *Brahman*, or of any one characteristic, or of the sentience (only). In the first alternative, there is the contingency of the annihilation of the very relation of cause and effect. For in the absence of some difference (between the two things) there can be no relation as cause and effect (existing between them). In the second (alternative), there is the fallacy of unprovenness. For it has already been stated that a characteristic of *Brahman* viz. existence (*sattā*) is observed as inhering in ether &c. In the third, there is the absence of illustrative instance. For what can be pointed out as an illustration to prove that what is not inhered by sentience has not *Brahman* for its constituent cause, to the *Brahmavādin* ? (Nothing at all), owing to his assumption of all sorts of things having *Brahman* as (their) constituent cause.

The conflict with the Scriptures is quite evident, since it has been already established that the purport of the Scriptures is that sentient *Brahman* is the efficient as well as the constituent cause of the world.

As for the statement that owing to its being an accomplished entity, other means of proof also may find scope as regards *Brahman*, it is merely a (picus) wish. Owing to the absence of colour &c. the matter is not open to direct

मनोरथमात्रम् । रूपाद्यभावाद्धि नायमर्थः प्रत्यक्षस्य गोचरः । लिङ्गाद्यभावाच्च नानुमानादीनाम् । आगममात्रसमधिगम्य एव त्वयमर्थो धर्मवत् ।
३ तथाच श्रुतिः 'नैषा तर्केण मतिरापनेया प्रोक्तान्येनैव सुज्ञानाय प्रेष्ठ ।' इति (का० १·२·९) 'को अद्धा वेद क इह प्रवोचत् इयं विसृष्टिर्यत आबभूव ।' इति (ऋ० सं० १०·१२९·६७) च । एते ऋचौ
६ सिद्धानामपीश्वराणां दुर्बोधतां जगत्कारणस्य दर्शयतः । स्मृतिरपि भवति 'अचिन्त्याः खलु ये भावा न तांस्तर्केण योजयेत् ।' इति (महा० भा० ६·५·१२), अव्यक्तोऽयमचिन्त्योऽयमविकार्योऽयमुच्यते ।'
९ इति (भ० गी० २·२५) च, न मे विदुः सुरगणाः प्रभवं न महर्षयः । अहमादिर्हि देवानां महर्षीणां च सर्वशः ॥ इति (भ० गी० १०·२) चैवंजातीयका ।

१२ यदपिश्रवणव्यतिरेकेण मननं विदधच्छब्द एव तर्कमप्यादर्तव्यं दर्शयतीत्युक्तम्, नानेन मिषेण शुष्कतर्कस्यात्रात्मलाभः संभवति । श्रुत्य-

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perception. And owing to the absence of any indicatory mark &c. it is not open to inference and other (means of proof). On the contrary, this matter like *Dharma* is cognisable from the Scriptures alone.

To the same effect there is the passage : 'Not by reasoning is this knowledge to be attained ; declared by another alone, dearest one, is it well comprehended' ; and (another passage) : 'Who, indeed, knows, who here can declare, from where this diverse creation has emanated?' 'These two *ṛks* show the inscrutability of the cause of the world even for those who might have attained perfection of power and vision. There are also Scriptural (passages) such as : 'One should not subject to logic those matters which are unthinkable', and 'Not the hosts of gods know my origin : nor the great sages. For I am the origin of gods and of the great sages in every way.'

Again as for the statement, that prescribing ratiocination in addition to the hearing. Scripture itself shows ratiocination also as being worthy of respect (we have to point out that) not under (any) such pretext can dry (i. e. mere) ratiocination have scope for itself. For it is only such ratiocination as is aided by Scripture that is

नुगृहीत एव ह्यत्र तर्कोऽनुभवाङ्गत्वेनाश्रीयते । स्वप्नान्तबुद्धान्तयोरुभयोरितरेतरव्यभिचारादात्मनोऽनन्वागतत्वं, संप्रसादे च प्रपञ्चपरित्यागेन सदात्मना संपत्तेर्निष्प्रपञ्चसदात्मत्वं, प्रपञ्चस्य ब्रह्मप्रभवत्वात् कार्यकारणानन्यत्वन्यायेन ब्रह्माव्यतिरेक इत्येवंजातीयकः । तर्काप्रतिष्ठानात् (ब्र० सू० २·१·११) इति च केवलस्य तर्कस्य विप्रलम्भकत्वं दर्शयिष्यति ॥ ३

योऽपि चेतनकारणश्रवणबलेनैव समस्तस्य जगतश्चेतनतामुत्प्रेक्षेत तस्यापि 'विज्ञानं चाविज्ञानं च।' इति (तै० २·६)। चेतनाचेतनविभागश्रवणं विभावनाविभावनाभ्यां चैतन्यस्य शक्यत एव योजयितुम्। ६

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resorted to (i.e. accepted) as ancillary to experience, as for example : (i) Owing to the mutual exclusion of the sleeping state and the wakeful state, the soul (experiencing them both) is in reality not connected (with either of them) : (ii) Owing to the merging of the self who is pure existence by setting aside the varied experience (of worldly existence) during the state of deep sleep, the soul is in reality of the nature of the self which is pure existence free from all diversity (*prapañca*) ; and (iii) Owing to having sprung from *Brahman* the diversity (of the world) has no existence apart from *Brahman* according to the view of the non-difference of the cause and the effect (from one another). In the *sūtra 'Tarkāpratiṣṭhānāt* &c.,' the *Sūtrakāra* will show clearly the deceptive nature of mere ratiocination.

Again even he, who on the strength of the passage declaring sentient *Brahman* as the (constituent) cause (of the world) presumes the sentience of the whole world, can well explain or interpret the passage 'the sentient and the non-sentient' declaring the division (of the world into) sentient and non-sentient (sections), by (postulating the theory of) manifestation and non-manifestation of the (common characteristic viz.) sentience (in those respective sections). It is for (our) opponent himself (*eva*), on the other hand, that even this passage declaring the division is not explicable. How ? For in it is declared the remaining of the Highest cause in the form of the whole

परस्यैव त्विदमपि विभागश्रवणं न युज्यते । कथम् । परमकारणस्य ह्यत्र समस्तजगदात्मना समवस्थानं श्राव्यते 'विज्ञानं चाविज्ञानं चाभवत् ।' इति (तै० २·६)। तत्र यथा चेतनस्याचेतनभावो नोपपद्यते विलक्षणत्वात्, एवमचेतनस्यापि चेतनभावो नोपपद्यते। प्रत्युक्तत्वात् तु विलक्षणत्वस्य यथाश्रुत्यैव चेतनं कारणं ग्रहीतव्यं भवति ॥ ६ ॥

असदिति चेन्न, प्रतिषेधमात्रत्वात् ॥ ७ ॥

यदि चेतनं शुद्धं शब्दादिहीनं च ब्रह्म तद्विपरीतस्याचेतनस्याशुद्धस्य शब्दादिमतश्च कार्यस्य कारणमिष्येत, असत् तर्हि कार्यं प्रागुत्पत्तेरिति प्रसज्येत। अनिष्टं चैतत् सत्कार्यवादिनस्तवेति चेत्। नैष दोषः। प्रतिषेधमात्रत्वात्। प्रतिषेधमात्रं हीदं, नास्य प्रतिषेधस्य प्रतिषेध्यमस्ति। नह्ययं प्रतिषेध

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world, in the words : 'It became the sentient and the non-sentient.' Such being the case (*tatra*) just as the sentient becoming the non-sentient is not plausible owing to disparity-in-nature, similarly the non-sentient also becoming the sentient does not stand to reason. Owing to the (argument of) disparity having been refuted, however, in conformity with (the teaching of) the Scriptures, the cause (of the world) has to be assumed (as being) sentient (*Brahman*).

If (it is urged that the effect would be) non-existent (prior to origination), (our reply is) no, owing to it being a mere negation. 7

If sentient pure *Brahman* void of *śabda* etc., is sought to be the (constituent) cause of an effect (i. e. the world, which is) non-sentient, impure, and possessed of *śabda* etc., (and thus) disparate-in-nature with it, then there would arise the contingency of the effect being non-existent prior to origination. And this (position) is undesirable for you who hold the view that the effect is existent (in its constituent cause prior to origination). If such (an objection is urged we reply that) this is not a defect (that would affect our view). Owing to its being mere negation. This is a mere negation. This negation has nothing to negative. For this negation cannot negative the existence of an effect prior to (its) origination. How?

प्रागुत्पत्तेः सत्त्वं कार्यस्य प्रतिषेद्धुं शक्नोति । कथम् । यथैव हीदानीमपीदं कार्यं कारणात्मना सत्, एवं प्रागुत्पत्तेरपीति गम्यते । नहीदानीमपीदं कार्यं कारणात्मानमन्तरेण स्वतन्त्रमेवास्ति 'सर्वं तं परादाद्योऽन्यत्रात्मनः सर्वं वेद ।' इत्यादि (बृ० २·४·६) श्रवणात् । कारणात्मना तु सत्त्वं कार्यस्य प्रागुत्पत्तेरविशिष्टम् ॥ ननु शब्दादिहीनं ब्रह्म जगतः कारणम् । बाढम् । नतु शब्दादिमत् कार्यं कारणात्मना हीनं प्रागुत्पत्तेरिदानीं वास्ति । तेन शक्यते वक्तुं प्रागुत्पत्तेरसत् कार्यमिति । विस्तरेण चैतत् कार्यकारणानन्यत्ववादे वक्ष्यामः ॥ ७ ॥

अपीतौ तद्वत्प्रसङ्गादसमञ्जसम् ॥ ८ ॥

अत्राह—यदि स्थौल्यसावयवत्वाचेतनत्वपरिच्छिन्नत्वाशुध्द्यादिधर्मकं

For just as even at the present moment this effect is existent (only) in and through (its) cause, so also it is known that (it is existent even) prior to (its) origination. For not even at the present moment is this effect existent independently and apart from the essence of the cause. (This is clear) from the passage, 'Every thing eludes him who understands every thing as existing apart from the *ātman*'. The existence of the effect in and through the cause, on the other hand, holds good even prior to (its) origination.

But is not *Brahman*, void of *śabda* and such (other qualities), (according to you), the (constituent) cause of the world (which is possessed of these qualities)?

Surely yes. But the effect, possessed of the qualities like *śabda* as it is, has no existence when deprived of the essence of (its constituent) cause, either now or prior to (its) origination. It is, therefore, not possible to assert that the effect (would become) non-existent prior to (its) origination. In full details we shall discuss this (view) in (our discussion of) the view of the non-distinctness of the effect from (its constituent) cause.

By reason of the contingency of (its being) like that in re-absorption, illogical (is the Upaniṣadic view). 8

In this (connection) says (the objector) :—If the effect possessed of the characteristics of grossness, partiteness, insentience, finiteness, impurity, and the like is

कार्यं ब्रह्मकारणमभ्युपगम्येत, तदपीतौ प्रलये प्रतिसंसृज्यमानं कार्यं कारणाविभागमापद्यमानं कारणमात्मीयेन धर्मेण दूषयेदित्यपीतौ कारण-
३ स्यापि ब्रह्मणः कार्यस्येवाशुद्धयादिरूपप्रसङ्गात् सर्वज्ञं ब्रह्म जगत्कारणमित्यसमञ्जसमिदमौपनिषदं दर्शनम् । अपिच समस्तस्य विभागस्याविभागप्राप्तेः पुनरुत्पत्तौ नियमकारणाभावाद्भोक्तृभोग्यादिविभागेनो-
६ त्पत्तिर्न प्राप्नोतीत्यसमञ्जसम् । अपिच भोक्तृणां परेण ब्रह्मणाऽविभागं गतानां कर्मादिनिमित्तप्रलयेऽपि पुनरुत्पत्तावभ्युपगम्यमानायां मुक्तानामपि
९ पुनरुत्पत्तिप्रसङ्गादसमञ्जसम् । अथेदं जगदपीतावपि विभक्तमेव परेण

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assumed as having *Brahman* for its (constituent) cause, then on re-absorption the effect merging completely back (into its constituent cause) (that is to say) attaining (the state of) non-distinction from (its constituent) cause, will contaminate the latter with its own characteristic ; and thus (*iti*) in re-absorption there would crop up the contingency of the cause viz., *Brahman* also, like the effect (viz., the world), having impurity and such other characteristics : and hence the Upanisadic view viz., that the omniscient *Brahman* is the (constituent) cause of the world, is illogical.

Again after all distinctions (get merged into and) attain the (state of) absence of divisions and distinctions, owing to absence of any restricting factor at the (time of) re-emanation there cannot invariably be the origination with the distinction of the experiencing (soul) and the experienced (objects). Hence (also this view is) illogical.

Again if even after they have attained non-distinctness from the highest *Brahman* (and) inspite of total annihilation (*Pralaya*) of (determining) causes such as actions, re-origination is assumed (in the case) of the experiencing (souls), there would surely crop up the contingency of re-birth of even the liberated (souls). Hence (also this view is) illogical.

If, further, this world should (be assumed to) stand away distinct and separate from *Brahman* even in the state of re-absorption, even then the view is illogical indeed, for (*iti*) then re-absorption (in the real sense of the

ब्रह्मणावतिष्ठेत, एवमप्यपीतिश्च न संभवति, कारणाव्यतिरिक्तं च कार्यं न संभवतीत्यसमञ्जसमेवेति ॥ ८ ॥ अत्रोच्यते—

न तु दृष्टान्तभावात् ॥ ९ ॥ ३

नैवास्मदीये दर्शने किंचिदसामञ्जस्यमस्ति । यत् तावदभिहितं कारणमपिगच्छत् कार्यं कारणमात्मीयेन धर्मेण दूषयेदिति, तददूषणम् । कस्मात् । दृष्टान्तभावात् । सन्ति हि दृष्टान्ता यथा कारणमपिगच्छत् ६ कार्यं कारणमात्मीयेन धर्मेण न दूषयति । तद्यथा शरावादयो मृत्प्रकृतिका विकारा विभागावस्थायामुच्चावचमध्यमप्रभेदाः सन्तः पुनः प्रकृतिमपिगच्छन्तो न तामात्मीयेन धर्मेण संसृजन्ति । रुचकादयश्च सुवर्णविकारा ९ अपीतौ न सुवर्णमात्मीयेन धर्मेण संसृजन्ति । पृथिवीविकारश्चतुर्विधो भूतग्रामो न पृथिवीमपीतावात्मीयेन धर्मेण संसृजति । त्वत्पक्षस्य तु न

term) would be impossible and moreover the effect being non-existent apart from (its constituent) cause would be impossible. Hence (also this view is) illogical indeed.

But no, owing to the existence of parallel instances. 9

There is surely no illogicality in our view. As for the statement that the effect getting merged back into its (constituent) cause will contaminate it by its own characteristic, it is no defect. Why ? Owing to the existence of parallel instances (in our support). For there are instances (to show) that (*yathā*) an effect merging back into (its constituent) cause does not contaminate it by its own characteristics. Thus, for example, a plate and such other products having clay for their constituent cause, and having diverse classes such as high, low and middling during their state of diversity, (after) merging back into their constituent cause, do not contaminate it with their own characteristic ; (similarly) *rucaka* and such other products of gold do not contaminate with their characteristic (their constituent cause) gold on re-absorption (into it). Again the fourfold classes of beings, the product of earth, do not contaminate the earth with their characteristics on re-absorption (into it). For your view (of the matter), however, there is not a single parallel instance. For re-absorption itself would be impossible if the effect would continue to exist in (its constituent) cause with its

कश्चिद्दृष्टान्तोऽस्ति । अपीतिरेव हि न संभवेद्यदि कारणे कार्यं स्वधर्मेणैवावतिष्ठेत । अनन्यत्वेऽपि कार्यकारणयोः कार्यस्य कारणात्मत्वं न तु
3 कारणस्य कार्यात्मत्वम्, आरम्भणशब्दादिभ्यः, इति वक्ष्यामः । अत्यल्पं चेदमुच्यते कार्यमपीतावात्मीयेन धर्मेण कारणं संसृजेदिति । स्थितावपि समानोऽयं प्रसङ्गः, कार्यकारणयोरनन्यत्वाभ्युपगमात् ।

6 'इदं सर्वं यदयमात्मा' (बृ० २·४·६), 'आत्मैवेदं सर्वम्' (छा० ७·२५·२), 'ब्रह्मैवेदममृतं पुरस्तात्' (मु० २·२·११), 'सर्वं खल्विदं ब्रह्म' (छा० ३·१४·१),

9 इत्येवमाद्याभिर्हि श्रुतिभिरविशेषेण त्रिष्वपि कालेषु कार्यस्य कारणानन्यत्वं श्राव्यते । तत्र यः परिहारः, कार्यस्य तद्धर्माणां चाविद्याध्यारोपितत्वान्न तैः कारणं संसृज्यत इति, अपीतावपि स समानः ॥

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own characteristic (intact). We shall demonstrate later on that though the effect and (its constituent) cause are non-distinct from one another, yet it is the effect alone that is of the nature of the cause and not the cause that is of the nature of the effect.

Moreover, very little, indeed, has here (*idam*) been said (by you by way of an objection when you declare) that in re-absorption the effect will contaminate the (constituent) cause by its characteristic. (In fact), even during its existence (as effect) the contingency is equally (cogent), owing to (our) assumption of the non-distinctness of the effect from (its constituent) cause. For non-distinction of the effect from (its constituent) cause at all the three (points of) time without any differenciation (*aviśeṣeṇa*) has been declared by Scriptural passages such as 'All this (is) what (is) the *Ātman*, '*Ātman* verily is this all', 'Brahman verily (was) this immortal before', 'All this, indeed, (is) Brahman'. The refutation (of the objection) viz. that owing to the effect and its characteristic being (only) superimposed (on the cause) through nescience, the (constituent) cause is not contaminated by them, (which) applies there, is equally (cogent), (the state of) re-absorption also.

And here is yet another illustration : Just as by the illusion created and spread out by himself the magician is

अस्ति चायमपरो दृष्टान्तो यथा स्वयंप्रसारितया मायया मायावी त्रिष्वपि कालेषु न संस्पृश्यते, अवस्तुत्वात्, एवं परमात्मापि संसारमायया न संस्पृश्यत इति। यथाच स्वप्नदृगेकः स्वप्नदर्शनमायया न संस्पृश्यत इति, प्रबोधसंप्रसादयोरनन्वागतत्वात्, एवमवस्थात्रयसाक्ष्येकोऽव्यभिचार्यवस्थात्रयेण व्यभिचारिणा न संस्पृश्यते। मायामात्रं ह्येतत् परमात्मनोऽवस्थात्रयात्मनावभासनम् रज्ज्वा इव सर्पादिभावेनेति। अत्रोक्तं वेदान्तार्थसंप्रदायविद्भिराचार्यैः (गौड० कारि० १. १६)—

अनादिमायया सुप्तो यदा जीवः प्रबुध्यते।
अजमनिद्रमस्वप्नमद्वैतं बुध्यते तदा॥ इति।

तत्र यदुक्तमपीतौ कारणस्यापि कार्यस्येव स्थौल्यादिदोषप्रसङ्ग इति, एतदयुक्तम्। यत् पुनरेतदुक्तं समस्तस्य विभागस्याविभागप्राप्तेः

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not (at all) touched (i. e. affected) owing to it (i. e. the illusion) being non-substantial, similarly the Highest Self also is not affected by the illusion of the world. And again just as the one experiencer of the dreaming condition is not affected by the illusion of the dream vision, it being non-persisting in the wakeful and the deed-sleep conditions, similarly the one soul experiencing witness of the triad of states, never missing any of them, is not affected by the three states which are non-persistent (through one another). For this appearance of the Highest Self in the nature of the triad of states is merely an illusion even like that of a rope in the form of a serpent &c. In this connection it has been declared by the teacher conversant with the tradition of the substance (i. e. the teaching) of the Upaniṣads :—

Merged in sleep by the beginningless illusion, when the soul wakes up, then does he realise the non-duality free from birth, free from sleep, free from dream.

Such being the case (*tatra*), the statement (i. e. objection) that in the (state of) absorption, there will arise the contingency of the cause also, even like the effect, (being open to) grossness, partiteness, and such other defects, is not logical.

As for the statement again that on the whole diversity having (merged into its cause and) attained non-diversity

पुनर्विभागेनोत्पत्तौ नियमकारणं नोपपद्यत इति, अयमप्यदोषः। दृष्टान्त-
भावादेव। यथाहि सुषुप्तिसमाध्यादावपि सत्यां स्वाभाविक्यामविभागप्राप्तौ
३ मिथ्याज्ञानस्यानपोदितत्वात् पूर्ववत् पुनः प्रबोधे विभागो भवति एवमिहापि
भविष्यति। श्रुतिश्चात्र भवति 'इमाः सर्वाः प्रजाः सति संपद्य न विदुः सति
संपद्यामह इति। त इह व्याघ्रो वा सिंहो वा वृको वा वराहो वा कीटो वा
६ पतङ्गो वा दंशो वा मशको वा यद्यद्भवन्ति तदाभवन्ति।' इति (छा०
६. ९. २. ३)। यथा ह्यविभागेऽपि परमात्मनि, मिथ्याज्ञानप्रतिबद्धो विभाग-
व्यवहारः स्वप्नवदव्याहतः स्थितौ दृश्यते, एवमपीतावपि मिथ्याज्ञानप्रति-
९ बद्धैव विभागशक्तिरनुमास्यते। एतेन मुक्तानां पुनरुत्पत्तिप्रसङ्गः प्रत्युक्तः,
सम्यग्ज्ञानेन मिथ्याज्ञानस्यापोदितत्वात्। यः पुनरयमन्तेऽपरो विकल्प उत्प्रे-
क्षितः, अथेदं जगदपीतावपि विभक्तमेव परेण ब्रह्मणावतिष्ठेतेति, सोऽप्यन-
१२ भ्युपगमादेव प्रतिषिद्धः। तस्मात् समञ्जसमिदमौपनिषदं दर्शनम्॥ ९॥

(i.e. unity) there is no restricting factor that will plausibly explain the re-emanation (of the world) in (its) diversity. Even this is no defect (for our view). Owing to the existence of parallel instances again. Just as though there is the natural attainment of non-diversity during the states of deep sleep, meditation, &c., yet since the illusion is not sublated, there arises diversity as before on waking up again, so will it be here also. And there is a Scriptural passage to this effect (*atra*); All these creatures getting merged into the *Sat* know it not that they are getting merged into the *Sat*. (Therefore) tiger, lion, wolf, bear, insect, fly, gnat or whatever they are the same they become again. Just as inspite of the non-diversity in the Highest Self the transaction based on diversity (and) founded on illusion is seen (going on) without break, in the same way in the state of dissolution also shall be inferred the capacity for diversity founded on illusion.

By this the contingency of re-emanation of the liberated (souls) is refuted; for the illusion (in their case) is sublated by right knowledge.

As for the next alternative fancied at the end viz. this world even in the dissolution may stand separate only (*eva*) from *Brahman*, it is refuted by (our) very non-acceptance (thereof).

कादम्बरी ८०–८३

क्रमेण च तं समासादितविग्रहमनङ्गमिवावतीर्णं नगरमार्गमनुप्राप्तमवलोक्य सर्व एव परित्यक्तसकलव्यापारो रजनिकरोदयपरिबुध्यमानकुमुदवनानुकारी जनः समजनि। 'सत्यस्मिन्संप्रति मुखकुमुदकदम्बकविकृताकृतिः कार्तिकेयो विडम्बयति कुमारशब्दम्। अहो वयमतिपुण्यभाजो यदिमाममानुषीमस्याकृतिमन्तःसमारूढप्रीतिरसनिष्यन्दविस्तारितेन कुतूहलोत्तानितेन लोचनयुगलेनानिवारिताः पश्यामः। सफला नोद्य जाता जन्मवत्ता। सर्वथा नमोस्मै रूपान्तरधारिणे भगवते चन्द्रापीडच्छद्मने पुण्डरीकेक्षणाय।' इति वदन्नारचितप्रणामाञ्जलिर्नगरलोकः प्रणनाम। सर्वतश्च समपावृतकपाटपुटप्रकटवातायनसहस्रतया चन्द्रापीडदर्शनकुतूहलान्नगरमपि

Kādambarī (80-83).

And seeing him (i.e. *Candrāpīḍa*) like the bodiless (one i.e. God of love) with his body gained (back), in due course, come along the road to the town, all persons without an exception (eva), with all their activities abandoned, resembled a bed of moon-lotuses, blooming at the rise of the maker of night (i.e. the moon). Now that he is here, the son of *Kṛttikās* (i. e. *Ṣaḍānana*) with his form disfigured by the cluster of (his six) faces, is, indeed, mocking the word *Kumāra*. Oh! We are extremely meritorious, in that this superhuman form of this (prince) we are seeing unobstructed, with a pair of eyes, expanded with the flow of juice of the sentmient of love grown exuberant within, and stretched out with curiosity. Fruitful has become today our being born (in this world). Bow, by all means, to the lotus-eyed lord (i.e. *Viṣṇu*) assuming a different form, having the guise of *Candrāpīḍa*. So saying the citizens, with their hands folded in obeisance, bowed down. The town also, owing to its thousands of door-panels and windows flung open, has, as it were, its mass of eyes, fully opened through curiosity to have a look at *Candrāpīḍa*.

समुन्मीलितलोचननिवहमिवाभवत् । अनन्तरं च 'समाप्तसकलविद्यो विद्यागृहान्निर्गतोऽयमागच्छति चन्द्रापीडः' इति समाकर्ण्यालोकनकुतूहलिन्यः
३ सर्वस्मिन्नेव नगरे ससंभ्रममुत्सृष्टार्धपरिसमाप्तप्रसाधनव्यापाराः काश्चिद्वामकरतलगतदर्पणाः स्फुरितसकलरजनिकरमण्डला इव पौर्णमासीरजन्यः,
काश्चिदार्द्रालक्तकरसपाटलितचरणपुटाः कमलपरिपीतबालातपा इव नलिन्यः,
६ काश्चित्ससंभ्रमगतिविगलितमेखलाकलापाकुलितचरणकिसलयाः शृङ्खलासंदानमन्दमन्दसंचारिण्य इव करिण्यः, काश्चिज्जलधरसमयदिवसश्रिय इवेन्द्रायुधरागरुचिराम्बरधारिण्यः, काश्चिदुल्लसितधवलनखमयूखपल्लवान्नूपुररवाकृ-
९ ष्टगृहकलहंसकानिव चरणपुटानुद्वहन्त्यः, काश्चित्करतलस्थितस्थूलहारयष्ट्यो रतिमिव मदनविनाशशोकगृहीतस्फटिकाक्षवलयां विडम्बयन्त्यः, काश्चि-

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Just then (*anantaram*) hearing that *Candrāpīḍa,* having completed all his studies and started from the house of learning, was coming there, women in the whole of the town having curiosity to have a look at him, hastily left off their toilet activities half finished and mounted up the terraces of (their) mansions. Thus some, with a mirror in their left hand (looked) like the fullmoon-nights with the orb of the maker of night (i.e. the moon) shining full; some, with the soles of their feet dyed red with the *alaktaka* juice (looked) like lotus-plants the lotuses in which had completely swallowed the young (i.e. morning) sun-shine; some, with their sprout-like (i.e. tender) legs entangled with the girdle dropped down in their hasty gait (looked) like female elephants moving slowly on owing to the fastening of fetters; some, putting on garments variegated like the bow of Indra (i.e. rain-bow) like the day of the rainy-season holding the sky charming with the rainbow; some, carrying on (i.e. having) soles of their feet with the sprout-like bright rays (issuing) from the nails spread out and hence looking as if they (i.e. the feet) had the domestic swans dragged or attracted towards them by the jingling of their anklets; some, with necklaces of big pearls resting (*sthita*) on their hand (appeared) to imitate as it were *Rati* holding a rosary of *sphaṭika* beads owing to her grief at the destruction of *Madana* : some, with their pearl-

त्पयोधरान्तरालगलितमुक्तालतास्तनुविमलस्रोतोजलान्तरितचक्रवाकमिथुना इव प्रदोषश्रियः, काश्चिन्नुपुरमणिसमुत्थितेन्द्रायुधतया परिचयानुगतगृहमयूरिका इव विराजन्त्यः, काश्चिदर्धपीतोज्झितमणिचषकाः स्फुरितरागैर्मधुर- ३ समिवाधरपल्लवैः क्षरन्त्यो हर्म्यतलानि ललनाः समारुरुहुः । अन्याश्च मरकतवातायनविवरविनिर्गतमुखमण्डला विकचकमलकोशपुटाम्बरतलसंचारिणीं कमलिनीमिव दर्शयन्त्यो ददृशुः । ६

उदपादि च सहसा सरभससंचलनजन्मा मधुरसारणास्फालितवीणारवकोलाहलबहलो रसनारवाहूतगृहसारसरसितसंभिन्नः स्खलितचरणतल-

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strings dropped through the space between their breasts, (looked) like the grandeur of the evening with the couples of *cakravāka* birds separated by the waters of the narrow, transparent (or pure) streams: some, owing to rainbows having arisen (out of the rays issuing) from the jewels in their anklet, appeared beautiful (i.e. looked) as though they had domestic pea-hens following (them) through acquaintance: some, with the jewelled bowls (of wine) cast away half emptied (lit. drunk) were as it were dripping the sweet honey with the sprouts of their lips with their redness shining bright. And others looked (at *Candrāpīḍa*) with their round (i.e. beautiful) faces projected through the holes in the emerald windows showing as it were (i.e. creating an appearance of) a lotus-bed with folds of the peripheries of the lotuses (fully) opened (and) existing (lit. moving) in the vast sky (*ambaratala*).

And all of a sudden there arose a din captivating the ears, (and) resounding with echoes in the sides of the palatial building, of the ornaments of the charming ladies, the jewels in whose necklaces were highly voluble with jingling owing to (their) dashing against one another,—the sound which had its birth (i.e. sprang) from the hasty movements; which was dense with deep rumbling of lutes sweetly (i.e. gently) played upon with the bow; which was mingled with the loud chirping of the domestic cranes invited (i.e. attracted) by the (tinkling) sound of the girdles;

ताडितसोपानजातगम्भीरध्वनिप्रहृष्टानामवरोधशिखण्डिनां केकारवैरनुगम्यमानो नवजलधररवभयचकितकलहंसकोलाहलकोमलो मकरध्वजविजय-
३ घोषणानुकारी परस्परविघट्टनारणिततारतरहारमणीनां रमणीनां श्रोत्रहारी हर्म्यकुक्षिषु प्रतिरवनिर्ह्रादी भूषणनिनादः ।

मुहूर्तादिव युवतिजननिरन्तरतया नारीमया इव प्रासादाः, सालक्त-
६ कपदकमलविन्यासैः पल्लवमयमिव क्षितितलम्, अङ्गनानाम् अङ्गप्रभाप्रवाहेण लावण्यमयमिव नगरम्, आननमण्डलनिवहेन चन्द्रबिम्बमयमिव गगनतलम्, आतपनिवारणायोत्तानितकरतलजालकेन कमलवनमयमिव दिक्चक्रवालम्,
९ आभरणांशुकलापेनेन्द्रायुधमय इवातपो, लोचनमयूखलेखासंतानेन नीलोत्पलदलमयइव दिवसो बभूव कौतुकप्रसारितनिश्चललोचनानां च

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which was being followed by the loud notes of the tufted (peacocks) of the harem highly gladdened at the deep rumbling sound springing from the stairs struck with soles of the faltering feet; which was soft like the confused cackling of the swans struck with fear at the thundering of fresh watery clouds; (and) which resembled the proclamation of the triumph of the shark-bannered (god of love).

In a very short time, the palatial buildings looked as if made up of women, owing to their being thickly and closely studded with young women folk; the surface of the earth looked as if made up of sprouts on account of the imprints of the lotus-like feet (dyed) with *alaktaka* juice; the town looked as if made up of beauty owing to the flow of the dazzling complexion of the limbs of the ladies: the vast expanse of the sky looked as if made up of orbs of the moon on account of the vast number of orbs (i.e. beautiful round) faces; the circle of regions looked as if made up of lotus-beds on account of the beautiful palms of hands stretched out for warding off the heat of the sun; the sun-shine looked as if made up of rain-bows owing to the clusters of the rays (issuing from the jewels) of the ornaments; (and) the day looked as if made up of petals of dark lotuses owing to the unbroken series of the pencils of the rays of the eyes. And the form (or figure) of *Candrāpīḍa* entered their hearts made up as it were of mirrors, of

पश्यन्तीनां तासामादर्शमयानीव सलिलमयानीव स्फटिकमयानीव हृदयानि विवेश चन्द्रापीडाकृतिः ।

आविर्भूतमदनरसानां चान्योन्यतः सपरिहासाः सविश्रम्भाः ससंभ्रमाः ३ सेर्ष्याः सोत्प्रासाः साभ्यसूयाः सविलासाः समन्मथाः सस्पृहाश्च तत्क्षणं रमणीयाः प्रसस्रुरालापाः । तथा हि त्वरितगमने मामपि प्रतिपालय । दर्शनो-न्मत्ते गृहाणोत्तरीयम् । उल्लासयालकलतामाननावलम्बिनीं मूढे । चन्द्र- ६ लेखनमुपाहरोपहारकुसुमस्खलितचरणा पतसि मदनान्धे । संयमय मदनिश्चेतने केशपाशम् । उत्क्षिप चन्द्रापीडदर्शनव्यसनिनि काञ्चीदामकम् । उत्सर्पय पापे कपोलदोलायितं कर्णपल्लवम् । अहृदये गृहाण निपतितं दन्तपत्रम् । ९ यौवनोन्मत्ते विलोक्यसे जनेन स्थगय पयोधरभारम् । अपगतलज्जे

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water, (or) of the white gem, as they gazed on with their eyes expanded with curiosity and motionless (or steady).

And among them, in whom the flavour of passion had arisen, there flowed from one another just then remarks full of jokes, full of confidence, full of confusion, full of jealousy, charged with ridicule, permeated with envy, accompanied by amorous gestures, actuated by passion, (and) charged with longing. To illustrate them....'O you of quick gait, wait for me also'; 'O you infatuated by the sight (of *Candrāpīḍa*), take up (your) upper garment'; 'Oh foolish one, raise up (to the proper position) your long (lit. creeper like) tresses hanging on your face'; 'Lift up (to its proper position) the (ornament resembling the) digit of the moon'; 'Oh you, blinded by passion, you (would) tumble with your feet slipping over the flowers offered (in worship on the floor)'; 'Oh you senseless through passion, tie up your beautiful hair'; 'Oh you addicted to (have) the sight of *Candrāpīḍa*, pull up (to its proper position) (your) girdle-zone'; 'Oh wicked one, move up the ornamental sprouts on (your) ear swinging to and fro on (your) cheeks'; 'Oh you lose-heart take up (your) ivory ornament (that has) dropped down (on the ground)'; 'Oh you infatuated with youth, you are observed by the people, cover up your heavy breasts'; 'Oh you lose-shame, fasten up (your) garment (which is) getting loose

शिथिलीभूतमाकलय दुकूलम् । अलिकमुग्धे द्रुततरमागम्यताम् । कुतूहलिनि देहि दर्शनान्तरम् । असंतुष्टे कियदालोकयसे । तरलहृदये
३ परिजनमपेक्षस्व । पिशाचि गलितोत्तरीया हस्यसे जनेन । रागावृत-नयने पश्यसि न सखीजनम् । अनेकभङ्गिविकारपूर्णे दुःखमकारणा-यासितहृदया जीवसि । मिथ्याविनीते किं व्यपदेशवीक्षितैर्विश्रब्ध-
६ मालोकय । यौवनशालिनि किं पीडयसि पयोधरभारेण । अतिकोपने पुरतो भव । मत्सरिणि किमेकाकिनी रुणत्सि वातायनम् । अनङ्गपरवशे मदीयमुत्तरीयांशुकमुत्तरीयतां नयसि । रागासवमत्ते निवारयात्मानम् ।
९ उज्झितधैर्ये किं धावसि गुरुजनसमक्षम् । उल्लसत्स्वभावे किमेवमाकुली-भवसि । मुग्धे निगूहस्व मदनज्वरजनितपुलकजालकम् । असाध्वाचरणे किमेवमुत्ताम्यसि । बहुविकारे विविधाङ्गभङ्गवलनायासितमध्यभागा वृथा

(and slipping)'; 'Oh you pretend-simplicity, come quick'; 'Oh you overpowered by curiosity, give (us) scope for the sight (of *Candrāpīḍa*)'; 'Oh you insatiate, how long are you looking (at him)'; 'Oh you fickle-heart, pay heed to (your) retinue'; 'Oh devil, you, with your upper garment dropped off, are being laughed at by the people'; 'Oh you with your eyes screened with passion, you do not see (even your) friends'; 'Oh you filled with varied emotions, you live sad, tormenting (your) heart in vain'; 'Oh you sham-modesty, what is the good of glances (cast at *Candrāpīḍa*) under some pretext? Look straight (lit. confidently)'; 'Oh you of exuberent youth, why do you press (me) with (your) heavy breasts?'; 'Oh extreme fury, be in the front'; 'Oh jealous one, why are you appropriating (lit. blocking) the window (to yourself) alone?'; 'Oh you be-side yourself with passion, my upper garment you are taking as yours'; 'Oh you intoxicated with wine of passion, check yourself'; 'Oh you drop-serenity, why are you running in the presence of elderly persons?'; 'Oh you, impatient by nature, why are you so much disturbed?'; 'Oh simple one, cover up the net-work of horripilation caused by love-fever'; 'Oh you of ill manners, why do you thus feel un-easy'; 'Oh you, of varied vissicitudes you are vainly troubling yourself with your waist exerting in various dis-

खिद्यसे । शून्यहृदये स्वभवनान्निर्गतमपि नात्मानमवगच्छसि । कौतुकाविष्टे विस्मृतासि निश्वसितुम् । अन्तःसंकल्परचितरतसमागमसुखरसनिमीलित-लोचने समुन्मील्य लोचनयुगलमतिक्रामत्ययम् । अनङ्गशरप्रहारमूर्छिते ३
रविकिरणनिवारणाय कुरु शिरस्युत्तरीयांशुकपल्लवम् । अयि सतीव्रतग्रह-गृहीते द्रष्टव्यमपश्यन्ती वञ्चयसि लोचनयुगलम् । अधन्ये हतासि परपुरुष-दर्शनपरिहारव्रतेन । प्रसीदोत्तिष्ठ सखि पश्य रतिविरहितं साक्षादिव ६
भगवन्तमगृहीतमकरध्वजं मकरध्वजम् । अयमस्य सितातपत्रान्तरेणालि-कुलनीले शिरसि तिमिरशङ्कानिपतित इव शशिकरकलापो मालतीकुसुम-शेखरोभिलक्ष्यते । एतदस्य कर्णाभरणमरकतप्रभाश्यामायितमुपरचितवि- ९
कचशिरीषकुसुमकर्णपूरमिव कपोलतलमाभाति । अयमस्य हारान्तर्निवि-

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tortions of your body'; 'Oh you absent-minded, you do not know that you have come out of your house'; 'Oh you seized with eagerness, you have forgotten (even) to breathe'; 'Oh you with your eyes closed in (the enjoyment of) the flavour of the pleasure of conjugal union brought about mentally through fancy, open wide (*sam*) your pair of eyes; he is moving off'; 'Oh you senseless with the strokes of the shafts of the bodiless (love), take up the skirts of your upper garment on your head, for warding off the sun's rays'; 'Oh you seized by the evil spirit (in the form) of the vow of a chaste woman, not seeing the sightworthy (*Candrāpīḍa*), you are depriving the pair of (your) eyes (of a good opportunity)'; 'Oh unfortunate one, you are undone by your vow of avoiding the sight of a man other (than your husband)'; 'Oh please get up, friend, look at (this *Candrāpīḍa* who is) the shark-bannered god incarnate without the shark banner, not accompanied by *Rati;* here is seen the chaplet of *Mālatī* flowers (which is) as it were the cluster of moon's rays fallen down through the space afforded by the white umbrella, on his head dark like a swarm of bees, mistaking it for darkness. Here (is his) broad cheek (which), being darkened with the lustre of the emerald in the ear-ornament, appears as it were to have an ear-ornament of blooming *Śirīṣa* flowers arranged there.

च्छारुणमणिकिरणकलापच्छलेन हृदयं विविक्षुरभिनवयौवनराग इव बहिः परिस्फुरति। एतदनेन चामरकलापान्तरैरित एव वीक्षितम्। एतत्किमपि
३ वैशम्पायनेन सह समामन्त्र्य दशनमयूखलेखाधवलीकृतदिक्चक्रवालं हसितम्। एषोऽस्य शुकपक्षतिहरितरागेणोत्तरीयांशुकप्रान्तेन बलाहकस्तुरंगखुरचलनजन्मानमालग्नमग्रकेशेषु रेणुमपहरति। अयमनेन लक्ष्मीकरकमल-
६ कोमलतलः समुत्क्षिप्य तिर्यक्तुरंगमस्कन्धे निक्षिप्तश्चरणपल्लवः सलीलम्। अयमनेन च ताम्बूलयाचनार्थमुत्तानिततलो दीर्घाङ्गुलिराताम्रपुष्करकोशशोभी गजेनेव शैवालकवलग्रासलालसः प्रसारितः करः। धन्या सा या
९ लक्ष्मीरिव निर्जितकमलं करतलमस्य वसुंधरासपत्नी ग्रहीष्यति। धन्या

Here is flashing hither and thither (*pari*) outside the heart) the passion of fresh youth desirous of entering into (his) heart, under the guise of the clustre of the rays of the rubies wreathed in (his) necklace. Here he has caste his glance just in this direction through the interstices of the cluster of the chowies. Here having talked about something to *Vaiśampāyana,* he has laughed rendering the circle of regions white (or bright) with pencils of rays issuing from his teeth. Here is *Balāhaka* removing, with the skirt of his upper garment green in colour like the plumage of a parrot, the particle (of dust) raised by (lit. having its birth from) movement of the hoofs of the horse (and) settled (*lagna*) on the hair (on the head). Here by him is tossed up (*samutkṣipya*) his sprout-like leg with its sole tender like the lotus-like hand of the Goddess of Wealth (and) placed it gracefully (*salīlam*) across the shoulder of the horse. He has stretched out for asking for *tāmbūla* his hand with its palm spread out, having long fingers, and charming like the pericarp of a bright red (*ātāmra*) lotus, like an elephant (spreading out) his trunk eager to catch hold of (*lālasaḥ*) a morsel of clustre of moss and charming with the pericarp-like full red tip. Blessed is she, who, as co-wife to the bearer of riches (i.e. the earth) will take his hand (i.e. marry him) surpassing a

च देवी विलासवती सकलमहीमण्डलभारधारणक्षमः ककुभा दिग्गज इव गर्भेण ययायं व्यूढः ।

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lotus, like Goddess of wealth. Blessed also (*ca*) is queen *Vilāsavatī* by whom was borne in her womb this (*Candrāpīda*) capable of bearing the brunt (of the administration) of the whole globe of the earth just as by the region (is borne within it) a guardian elephant capable of sustaining the burden of the whole globe of the earth.

महाभारत–आदिपर्व

(३. १९–५९, ७१–७८)

एतस्मिन्नन्तरे कश्चिदृषिर्धौम्यो नामायोदः। तस्य शिष्यास्त्रयो बभूवुरुपमन्युरारुणिर्वेदश्चेति ॥ १९ ॥ स एकं शिष्यमारुणिं पाञ्चाल्यं
३ प्रेषयामास। गच्छ केदारखण्डं बधानेति ॥ २० ॥ स उपाध्यायेन संदिष्ट आरुणिः पाञ्चाल्यस्तत्र गत्वा तत्केदारखण्डं बद्धुं नाशक्नोत् ॥ २१ ॥ स क्लिश्यमानोऽपश्यदुपायम्। भवत्वेवं करिष्यामीति ॥ २२ ॥ स तत्र
६ संविवेश केदारखण्डे। शयाने तस्मिंस्तदुदकं तस्थौ ॥ २३ ॥

ततः कदाचिदुपाध्याय आयोदो धौम्यः शिष्यानपृच्छत्। क्व आरुणिः पाञ्चाल्यो गत इति ॥ २४ ॥ ते प्रत्यूचुः। भगवतैव प्रेषितो
९ गच्छ केदारखण्डं बधानेति ॥ २५ ॥ स एवमुक्तस्ताञ्शिष्यान् प्रत्युवाच।

Mahābhārata, Ādiparva (III, 19—59, 71—78.)

(19) About the same time (there was) some sage named *Dhaumya Āyoda.* He had three disciples viz. *Upamanyu, Āruṇi* and *Veda.* (20) He (once) sent (away) one of his pupils, *Āruṇi Pāñcālya* saying (*iti*): 'Go and construct a dyke. (21) Ordered by the preceptor that *Āruṇi Pāñcalya,* going there (found that he) was unable to construct the dyke. (22) Being exhausted he saw a remedy (i.e. a thought occurred to him); 'Well, I shall do like this, (23) He, therefore, lay down there in the section of the field. As he lay down there the water stopped (flowing away).

(24) Then after some time the preceptor *Dhaumya Āyoda,* asked (his) disciples; 'Where is *Āruṇi Pāñcālya* gone ?' (25) They replied : 'By (your) revered self is he

तस्मात् सर्वे तत्र गच्छामो यत्र स इति ॥ २६ ॥ स तत्र गत्वा तस्याह्वानाय शब्दं चकार । भो आरुणे पाञ्चाल्य क्वासि । वत्सैहीति ॥ २७ ॥ स तच्छ्रुत्वा आरुणिरुपाध्यायवाक्यं तस्मात्केदारखण्डात् सहसोत्थाय ३ तमुपाध्यायमुपतस्थे । प्रोवाच चैनम् अयमस्म्यत्र केदारखण्डे निःसरमाणमुदकमवारणीयं संरोद्धुं संविष्टो भगवच्छब्दं श्रुत्वैव सहसा विदार्य केदारखण्डं भवन्तमुपास्थितः । तदभिवादये भगवन्तम् । आज्ञापयतु भवान् । ६ किं करवाणीति ॥ २८ ॥ तमुपाध्यायोऽब्रवीत् । यस्माद्भवान् केदारखण्डमवदार्योत्थितस्तस्माद्भवानुद्दालक एव नाम्ना भविष्यतीति ॥ २९ ॥ स उपाध्यायेनानुगृहीतः यस्मात् त्वया मद्वचोऽनुष्ठितं तस्माच्छ्रेयोऽवाप्स्यसीति । सर्वे च ते वेदाः प्रतिभास्यन्ति सर्वाणि च धर्मशास्त्राणीति ॥३०॥ ९ स एवमुक्त उपाध्यायेनेष्टं देशं जगाम ॥ ३१ ॥

अथापरः शिष्यस्तस्यैवायोदस्य धौम्यस्योपमन्युर्नाम ॥ ३२ ॥ १२

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sent saying, 'Go, construct a dyke'. (26) Being thus addressed he said to those disciples again : 'we all shall therefore, go where he is.' (27) Going there he made a sound to call him (out), (saying), Oh *Āruṇi Pāñcālya*, where are you ? Come, dear !' (28) Hearing that cry of (his) preceptor, that *Āruṇi*, immediately getting up from that dyke in the field, approached the preceptor; and said to him : 'Here I am in the dyke in the field, lying down to stop the (flow of) water impossible to check; and immediately on hearing your word I have at once approached your honour, breaking up the dyke in the field. Therefore, I salute your revered self. Let your honour command (as to) what I shall do.' (29) The preceptor said to him : 'Since you have risen up breaking up the dyke in the field, therefore, you will be (known) by the name *Uddālaka* only. (30) He was (then) blessed by the preceptor : 'Since my order was obeyed by you, therefore you will attain bliss; and all the *Vedas* will shine (i.e. be clear) to you and all the *dharma-śāstras* also. (31) Thus addressed by the preceptor, he went (away) to his desired land.

(32) Now (there was) another disciple of the same

तमुपाध्याय: प्रेषयामास । वत्सोपमन्यो गा रक्षस्वेति ॥ ३३ ॥ स उपाध्यायवचनादरक्षद्गाः । स चाहनि गा रक्षित्वा दिवसक्षयेऽभ्यागम्योपाध्या-
३ यस्याग्रत: स्थित्वा नमश्चक्रे ॥ ३४ ॥ तमुपाध्याय: पीवानमपश्यत् । उवाच चैनम् । वत्सोपमन्यो केन वृत्तिं कल्पयसि । पीवानसि दृढमिति ।।३५।। स उपाध्यायं प्रत्युवाच । भैक्षेण वृत्तिं कल्पयामीति ।।३६।। तमुपाध्याय:
६ प्रत्युवाच । ममानिवेद्य भैक्षं नोपयोक्तव्यमिति ॥३७॥

स तथेत्युक्त्वा पुनररक्षद्गाः । रक्षित्वा चागम्य तथैवोपाध्यायस्याग्रत: स्थित्वा नमश्चक्रे ।। ३८ ॥ तमुपाध्यायस्तथापि पीवानमेव दृष्ट्वोवाच ।
९ वत्सोपमन्यो सर्वमशेषतस्ते भैक्षं गृह्णामि । केनेदानीं वृत्तिं कल्पयसीति ॥३९॥ स एवमुक्त उपाध्यायेन प्रत्युवाच । भगवते निवेद्य पूर्वमपरं चरामि। तेन वृत्तिं कल्पयामीति ॥ ४० ॥ तमुपाध्याय: प्रत्युवाच । नैषा न्याय्या गुरुवृत्तिः । अन्येषामपि वृत्त्युपरोधं करोष्येवं वर्तमान: । लुब्धोऽसीति ॥४१॥

Dhaumya Āyoda, named *Upamanyu*. (33) Him the preceptor sent saying, 'Dear Upamanyu, tend the cows', (34) At the command of his preceptor he tended the cows. And he, tending the cows all day long, in the evening approaching and standing before (his) preceptor bowed down (to him). (35) The preceptor saw (i.e. found) him plump and addressed him : 'Child *Upamanū*, on what do you subsist ? Quite (*dṛḍham*) plump you are.' (36) He said to the preceptor in reply; 'By alms do I subsist'. (37) The preceptor replied him ; 'Alms should not be used (by you) without (first) offering to me.'

(38) Saying 'Yes' he again tended the cows: and tending (them) he again as before approached and stood before (his) preceptor and bowed down to him. (39) Finding him plump even then, the preceptor said to him; 'Dear *Upamanu*, the whole of (your) alms I take from you without leaving anything (for you); on what do you subsist now? (40) Thus asked by the preceptor he made a reply : 'Offering the first (*pūrvam*) to your revered self I beg another (*aparam*); and with that do I live'. (41) The preceptor said to him; 'This is not the proper mode of conduct with the preceptor. (For) acting thus you cause obstruction to the living of others also. You are avaricious.'

स तथेत्युक्त्वा गा अरक्षत् । रक्षित्वा च पुनरुपाध्यावगृहमागम्योपाध्यायस्याग्रतः स्थित्वा नमश्चक्रे ।। ४२ ।। तमुपाध्यायस्तथापि पीवानमेव दृष्ट्वा पुनरुवाच । अहं ते सर्वं भैक्षं गृह्णामि न चान्यच्चरसि । पीवानसि ३ केन वृत्तिं कल्पयसीति ।। ४३ ।। स उपाध्यायं प्रत्युवाच । भो एतासां गवां पयसा वृत्तिं कल्पयामीति ।।४४।। तमुपाध्यायः प्रत्युवाच । नैतन्न्याय्यं पय उपयोक्तुं भवतो मयाननुज्ञातमिति ।। ४५ ।। ६

स तथेति प्रतिज्ञाय गा रक्षित्वा पुनरुपाध्यायगृहानेत्य गुरोरग्रतः स्थित्वा नमश्चक्रे ।। ४६ ।। तमुपाध्यायः पीवानमेवापश्यत् । उवाच चैनम् । भैक्षं नाश्नासि न चान्यच्चरसि । पयो न पिबसि । पीवानसि । केन वृत्तिं ९ कल्पयसीति ।। ४७ ।। स एवमुक्त उपाध्यायं प्रत्युवाच । भोः फेनं पिबामि यमिमे वत्सा मातॄणां स्तन पिबन्त उद्गिरन्तीति ।। ४८ ।। तमुपाध्यायः प्रत्युवाच । एते त्वदनुकम्पया गुणवन्तो वत्साः प्रभूततरं फेनमुद्गिरन्ति । १२

(42) Saying yes, he tended the cows; and tending (them) he again as before approached and stood before (his) preceptor and bowed down to him. (43) The preceptor seeing him plump even then, said (to him) again; 'I take the whole of the alms from you, and you do not go (for alms) a second (time) (and yet) you are (quite) plump. On what do you subsist ?' (44) He replied to the preceptor: 'Oh, I subsist on the milk of the cows'. (45) The preceptor said to him again: 'It is not proper for you to use milk (for yourself) without being permitted by me'.

(46) Saying yes solemnly, he tended the cows and tending the cows he went to the house of his preceptor and standing before him bowed down to him. (47) The preceptor again saw him fat as before (*eva*) ; and said to him: 'You do not eat the alms, nor beg a second time, nor do you drink milk. On what (then) do you subsist ?' (48) Thus asked he replied to the preceptor: Sir I drink the foam which these calves sucking the udders of their mothers let out.' (49) The preceptor said to him in reply: 'These calves, virtuous as they are, out of compassion for you let out larger quantity of foam; and thus acting also you are

तदेवमपि वत्सानां वृत्त्युपरोधं करोष्येवं वर्तमानः। फेनमपि भवान्न पातुमर्हतीति ॥ ४९ ॥

३ स तथेति प्रतिज्ञाय निराहारस्ता गा अरक्षत्। तथा प्रतिषिद्धो भैक्षं नाश्नाति न चान्यच्चरति। पयो न पिबति। फेनं नोपयुङ्क्ते ॥५०॥ स कदाचिदरण्ये क्षुधार्तोऽर्कपत्राण्यभक्षयत् ॥ ५१ ॥ स तैरर्कपत्रैर्भक्षितैः

६ क्षारकटूष्णविपाकिभिश्चक्षुष्युपहतोऽन्धोऽभवत्। सोऽन्धोऽपि चङ्क्रम्यमाणः कूपेऽपतत् ॥ ५२ ॥

अथ तस्मिन्ननागच्छत्युपाध्यायः शिष्यानवोचत्। मयोपमन्युः

९ सर्वतः प्रतिषिद्धः। स नियतं कुपितः। ततो नागच्छति चिरगतश्चेति ॥ ५३ ॥ स एवमुक्त्वा गत्वारण्यमुपमन्योराह्वानं चक्रे। वत्सैहीति ॥५४॥ स तदाह्वानमुपाध्यायाच्छ्रुत्वा प्रत्युवाचोच्चैः अयमस्मि भो उपाध्याय कूपे

१२ पतित इति ॥५५॥ तमुपाध्यायः प्रत्युवाच। कथमसि कूपे पतित इति ॥५६॥ स तं प्रत्युवाच। अर्कपत्राणि भक्षयित्वान्धीभूतोऽस्मि। अतः

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causing obstruction in the livelihood of these calves. You should not drink even foam'.

(50) Saying yes without any food he tended the cows. Being thus prohibited he does not eat (of) the alms, nor goes (for alms) a second (time), nor does he drink milk, nor does he use foam. (51) Once, famished with hunger in the forest he consumed the leaves of the *arka* plant. (52) Being affected in the eye by the *arka* leaves, consumed by him, becoming salt, pungent and hot in the (process of) digestion, became blind. Even when blinded, he kept on moving constantly and fell into a well.

(53) Now when he did not come, the preceptor said to (his) disciples: '*Upamanyu* has been prohibited by me on all sides. Surely he is angry; (and) hence he has not come though gone long before. (54) Saying thus he went to the forest and called out to *Upamanyu* : 'Child, come'. (55) Having heard that call from the preceptor, he said aloud in reply: 'Here I am, Oh preceptor, fallen into a well'. (56) The preceptor said to him in reply: 'How have you fallen into a well ?' (57) He gave him a reply: 'On eating the leaves of *arka* plant, have I become blind ;

कूपे पतित इति ॥५७॥ तमुपाध्यायः प्रत्युवाच । अश्विनौ स्तुहि । तौ त्वां चक्षुष्मन्तं करिष्यतो देवाभिषजाविति ॥५८॥ स एवमुक्त उपाध्यायेन स्तोतुं प्रचक्रमे देवावश्विनौ वाग्भिर्ऋग्भिः ॥५९॥ ३

एवं तेनाभिष्टुतावश्विनावाजग्मतुः । आहतुश्चैनम् । प्रीतौ स्वः । एष तेऽपूपः । अशानैनमिति ॥ ७१ ॥ स एवमुक्तः प्रत्युवाच । नानृतम्-चतुर्भवन्तौ । न त्वहमेतमपूपमुपयोक्तुमुत्सहे अनिवेद्य गुरव इति ॥ ७२ ॥ ६ ततस्तमश्विनावूचतुः । आवाभ्यां पुरस्ताद्भवत उपाध्यायेनैवमेवाभिष्टुताभ्या मपूपः प्रीताभ्यां दत्तः । उपयुक्तश्च स तेनानिवेद्य गुरवे । त्वमपि तथैव कुरुष्व यथा कृतमुपाध्यायेनेति ॥७३॥ स एवमुक्तः पुनरेव प्रत्युवाचैतौ । ९ प्रत्यनुनये भवन्तावश्विनौ । नोत्सहेऽहमनिवेद्योपाध्यायायोपयोक्तुमिति ॥७४॥ तमश्विनावाहतुः । प्रीतौ स्वस्तवानया गुरुवृत्त्या । उपाध्यायस्य ते कार्ष्णायसा दन्ताः । भवतो हिरण्मया भविष्यन्ति । चक्षुष्मांश्च भवि- १२ ष्यसि । श्रेयश्चावाप्स्यसीति ॥७५॥ एवमुक्तोऽश्विभ्यां लब्धचक्षुरुपाध्याय-

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and hence have fallen into a well'. (58) The preceptor said to him again ; 'Pray to *Aśvins*. They, will restore your eyes, Physicians of the gods (as they are)'. (59) Being thus addressed by the preceptor, he started praying to the divine *Aśvins* with metrical texts, with words'.

(71) Thus prayed by him the *Aśvins* approached and said to him: 'We are pleased (with you). Here is a cake for you. Eat it.' (72) Thus addressed he replied: 'Your honours are not telling a lie. But I do not feel like using this cake (for myself) without offering (it) to my preceptor.' (73) Then the *Aśvins* said to him : 'A similar cake was given to your preceptor by us when formely we were thus prayed (by him) and were pleased (with him). And it was used by him without offering it to his preceptor. (74) Thus addressed he said to them again : 'I propitiate you, Oh *Aśvins*: I do not feel like using (the cake) without offering it to my preceptor'. (75) The *Aśvins* said to him: 'We are pleased by this your devotion to your preceptor. Your preceptor has teeth of black iron: you will have (them) of gold. And you will have your eyes (restored); and will attain bliss.' (76) Thus told by the

सकाशमागम्योपाध्यायमभिवाद्याचचक्षे । स चास्य प्रीतिमानभूत् ॥ ७६ ॥
आह चैनम् । यथाश्विनावाहतुस्तथा त्वं श्रेयोऽवाप्स्यसीति । सर्वे च ते
३ वेदाः प्रतिभास्यन्तीति ॥७७॥ एषा तस्यापि परीक्षोपमन्योः ॥७८॥

Aśvins, with the eyes restored, approaching the preceptor, saluting him, he told (him the whole incident). He (i.e. the preceptor) also (*ca*) was pleased with him. (77) And he said to him : 'As *Aśvins* have said so you will attain bliss. And all the *Vedas* will be clear to you'. (78) Such (was) the test of even that *Upamanyu.*

Allahabad Inscription of समुद्रगुप्त

(Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions, No. 1)

समुद्रगुप्तस्य स्तम्भप्रशस्ति ।

तस्य विविधसमरशतावतरणदक्षस्य स्वभुजबलपराक्रमैकबन्धोः पराक्रमाङ्कस्य परशुशरशङ्कुशक्तिप्रासासितोमरभिन्दिपालनाराचवैतस्तिकाद्यनेकप्रहरणविरूढाकुलव्रणशताङ्कशोभासमुदयोपचितकान्ततरवर्ष्मणः ३
कौसलकमहेन्द्रमाहाकान्तारकव्याघ्रराजकौरा (कैर) लकमण्टराजपैष्टपुरकमाहेन्द्रगिरिकौट्टूरकस्वामिदत्तैरण्डपल्लकदमनकाञ्चेयकविष्णुगोपावमुक्तकनीलराजवैङ्गेयकहस्तिवर्मपालक्कोग्रसेनदैवराष्ट्रककुबेरकौस्थलपुरकधनञ्जयप्रभृतिसर्वदक्षिणापथराजग्रहणमोक्षानुग्रहजनितप्रतापो- ६

Allahabad Inscription of Samudragupta.

Of him (i.e. *Samudragupta*) who was diligent in plunging into hundreds of varied battle-fields; who befriended (i.e. depended on) none but the prowess and might of his arms; who was noted for valour; whose lustre became all the more charming (being) studded with the accumulation of the charm of the scars of the hundreds of grave wounds inflicted by various weapons such as axes, arrows, spears, spikes, barbed darts, swords, lances, javelines, iron-arrows, and *vaitaṣṭika*; whose great fortune was blended with great prestige created by the capturing, release, and favouring of all the kings in the South (of India) viz. *Mahendra* of *Kosala*, *Vyāghrarāja* of *Mahākāntāra*, *Manṭarāja* of *Kerala*, *Māhendra* of *Piṣṭapura*, *Svāmidatta* of *Girikoṭṭūra*, *Damana* of *Eranḍapalla*, *Viṣṇugopa* of *Kāñcī*, *Nīlarāja* of *Avamukta*, *Hastivarman of Veṅgī*, *Ugrasena of Pālakha*, *Kubera* of *Devarāṣṭra*, and *Dhanañjaya* of *Kusthalapura;* who was formidable with the might that had grown inordinate by the forcible exter-

न्मिश्रमाहाभाग्यस्य **रुद्रदेवमतिलनागदत्तचन्द्रवर्मगणपतिनागनागसेना-च्युतनन्दिबलवर्माद्यनेकार्यावर्त**राजप्रसभोद्धरणोद्वृत्तप्रभावमहतः परिचारि-

३ कीकृतसर्वाटविकराजस्य **समतटडवाककामरूपनेपालकर्तृपुरादिप्रत्यन्त** नृपतिभि**र्मालवार्जुनायनयौधेयमाद्रकाभीरप्रार्जुनसनकानिककाकखरप-रिकादिभिश्च** सर्वकरदानाज्ञाकरणप्रणामागमनपरितोषितप्रचण्डशासनस्य

६ अनेकभ्रष्टराज्योत्सन्नराजवंशप्रतिष्ठापनोद्भूतनिखिलभुवनविचरणशान्तयशसः **दैवपुत्रषाहिषाहानुषाहिशकमुरुण्डैः सैंहलकादिभिश्च** सर्वद्वीपवासिभिरात्म-निवेदनकन्योपायनदानगरुत्मदङ्कस्वविषयभुक्तिशासनयाचनाद्युपायसेवाकृतबा-

९ हुवीर्यप्रसरधरणिबन्धस्य पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथस्य सुचरितशतालङ्कृतानेक-गुणगणोत्सिक्तिभिश्चरणतलप्रमृष्टान्यनरपतिकीर्तेः साध्वसाधूदयप्रलयहेतुपुरु-

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mination of *Rudradeva Matila, Nāgadatta, Candravarman, Gaṇapatināga, Nāgasena, Acyuta, Nandī, Balavarman,* and several other rulers in the *Āryāvarta* who had reduced all the chiefs of the forest territories to the state of attendants; whose powerful will was throughly gratified by the ruler of the frontier countries like *Samataṭa Davāka, Kāmarūpa, Nepāla,* and *Kartupura* and also by the *Mālavas, Ārjunāyanas, Yaudheyas, Mādrakas, Abhīras, Prārjunas, Sanakānīkas, Kākas, Kharaparikas,* and others by paying all taxes, obeying (his) orders, and going (to him) for (doing) homage; whose glory, arisen by the reinstallation of several royal races (previously) dethroned and extirpated, has come to a stand-still after roaming through the whole (of the) universe; expansion of the prowess of whose arms caused by service (done to him) by *Devapura, Ṣāhi, Ṣāhānuṣāhi, Śakas, Muruṇḍas,* and all the islanders such as the people of *Siṁhala* by such means as self-surrender, offering of young maidens as present, hoisting the eagle banner in one's territories, and soliciting commands served as the fetters for the earth; who is a matchless warrior throughout the earth, who has wiped away with the sole of his feet the fame of (all) other rulers with the exuberant growth of the group of various good qualities adorned with hundreds of good deeds; who was unfathomable *purṣwa* who is the cause of the prosperity

पस्याचिन्त्यस्य भक्त्यवनतिमात्रग्राह्यमृदुहृदयस्यानुकम्पावतो ऽनेकगोशत-
सहस्रप्रदायिनः कृपणदीनानाथातुरजनोद्धरणमन्त्रदीक्षाद्युपगतमनसः समि-
द्धस्य विग्रहवतो लोकानुग्रहस्य धनदवरुणेन्द्रान्तकसमस्य स्वभुजबलविजि ३
तानेकनरपतिविभवप्रत्यर्पणनित्यव्यापृतायुक्तपुरुषस्य निशितविदग्धमतिगा-
न्धर्वललितैर्व्रीडितत्रिदशपतिगुरुतुम्बुरुनारदादेर्विद्वज्जनोपजीव्यानेककाव्यक्रि-
याभिः प्रतिष्ठितकविराजशब्दस्य सुचिरस्तोतव्यानेकाद्भुतोदारचरितस्य ६
लोकसमयक्रियानुविधानमात्रमानुषस्य लोकधाम्नो देवस्य महाराज**श्रीगुप्त-**
प्रपौत्रस्य महाराज**श्रीघटोत्कचपौत्रस्य** महाराजाधिराज**श्रीचन्द्रगुप्तपुत्रस्य**
लिच्छविदौहित्रस्य महादेव्यां **कुमारदेव्यामुत्पन्नस्य** महाराजाधिराज- ९
श्रीसमुद्रगुप्तस्य सर्वपृथिवीविजयनितोदयव्याप्तनिखिलावनितलां कीर्ति-

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and the destruction of the good and the wicked (respectively); who was compassionate and whose soft heart could be won over by devotion and submission alone; who was the giver of several hundreds and thousands of cows; whose mind was always under initiation for the *mantra* in the form of affording relief to the meek, the submissive, the helpless, and the afflicted; who was as it were the flaming embodiment of the spirit of public service; who was a compeer of *Kubera*, *Varuṇa*, *Indra* and *Death* ; whose officers are ever engrossed in the restoration of their splendour to several princes conquered by him by the powers of his arms; who put to shame the preceptor of the lord of the gods (i. e. *Bṛhaspati*), *Tumburu*, *Nārada*, and others by the graceful displays of his sharp and powerful intellect and music; who had established (his claim to) the title 'king of poets' by the composition of several works dependable for (even) learned; who had achieved several marvellous and noble deeds worthy to be eulogised for long (ages) ; who was human only in the performance of the actions according to the conventions of the society, who is the place of refuge for all the people; who is the great-grand-son of *Mahārāja Gupta*, the grand-son of *Mahārāja Ghaṭotkaca*, the son of *Mahārājadhirāja Candragupta*, the daughter's son of the *Licchavi* king and born of *Mahādevī Kumārdevī;* of *Mahārājādhirāja Samudragupta*, to declare the fame which has taken its rise from the conquest of the whole

मितास्त्रिदशपतिभवनगमनावाप्तललितसुखविचरणामाचक्षाण इव भुवो बाहुर-
यमुच्छ्रितः स्तम्भः । यस्य

३ प्रदानभुजविक्रमप्रशमशास्त्रवाक्योदयै—
रुपर्युपरिसञ्चयोच्छ्रितमनेकमार्गं यशः ।
पुनाति भुवनत्रयं पशुपतेर्जटान्तर्गुहा—
६ निरोधपरिमोक्षशीघ्रमिव पाण्डु गाङ्गं पयः ॥

एतच्च काव्यमेषामेव भट्टारकपादानां दासस्य समीपपरिसर्पणानुग्रहो-
न्मीलितमतेः खाद्यटपाकिकस्य महादण्डनायक**ध्रुवभूतिपुत्रस्य** सान्धिवि-
९ ग्रहिककुमारामात्यमहादण्डनायक**हरिषेणस्य** सर्वभूतहितसुखायास्तु ॥

अनुष्ठितं च परमभट्टारकपादानुध्यातेन महादण्डनायक**तिलभट्टेन** ॥

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earth, and pervaded the surface of the whole earth, and has an easy and graceful stroll after going from here to the palace of the lord of the gods, is this pillar raised up (like) the arm of the earth; whose,

Manifold fame, piled up heaps upon heaps by the (constant) springing up out of the vast gifts, the prowess of his arms, tranquillity (of spirits), and (a study of) *śāstras,* purifies the triad of the world like the bright *Ganges* water rapid (in its flow) on account of its release from the confinement in the caverns within the folds of the matted hair of the Lord of Beasts (i.e. God *Śiva*).

May for the well-being and happiness of all beings be this composition of *Hariśeṇa,* the commander-in-chief, counsellor of the prince, and the minister of peace and war, son of the commander-in-chief *Dhruvabhūti,* the *khādyaṭa-pākika,* whose intelligence bloomed through the favour (granted him by the king) of moving in his vicinity.

And (this) is executed (i.e. inscribed on the pillar) by the chief commander *Tilabhaṭṭa* who is taken care of by the feet of the great master.

NOTES

No. 1 (A, B, C).

Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa: A General Note.

A glance at the table in the general Introduction will show that *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* (JB) is a work (of the class of Vedic works called *Brāhmaṇas*) belonging to the *Jaiminīya Śākhā* of the *Sāmaveda*. It is one of the most important works which have not yet been made available to us in print in their entirety. No doubt several laudable attempts have been made by scholars, both foreign as well as Indian, to edit it in their own way since 1883 onwards. Among these Oertel, Caland and Raghu Vira deserve special mention. Dr. Oertel published several extracts from this work in the Journal of American General Society (JAOS), adding a full translation and also his own observations on them. He also published several exegetical articles on this *Brāhmaṇa* dealing with syntax, verb-forms, etc., occcurring therein. Caland published no less than 212 long extracts from this work in his '*Das Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa in Auswāhl*' the utility of which is highly enhanced by not only the translation but more particularly by the critical notes and the indices that he has added. Among Indian Scholars Dr. B. Ghosh has quoted some passages from this work (i. e. JB) in his thesis entitled '*Collectian of the Fragments of Lost Brāhmaṇas*' (1935, Calcutta); and two years later appeared the first complete edition of the first book (*kāṇḍa*) of this work prepared by Dr. Raghu Vira. In continuation of this, it is only recently that the first eighty sections of the second book (dealing with *Gavāmayana*) have been edited making full use of all the Mss. and printed material available at present by Shri Lokesh Chandra. It is to be hoped that the entire work will be available to us in print at not a very distant date, thanks to the indefatigable energies of Dr. Raghu Vira and Shri Lokesh Chandra.

The JB. has three books called *kāṇḍas* comprising 364, 442 and 385 sections respectively. Among them these books deal with all the important sacrifices particularly from the point of view of the *Chandogya priests*. The *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa* of the *Kauthuma Śākhā* of the *Sāmaveda* also deals with the same subject and serves, therefore, as a good parallel to the JB. The first *kāṇḍa* of JB. treats of two classes of sacrifices viz. the *Agni-hotra* (sections 1-65) and the *Agniṣṭoma* (all the remaining sections). The *Dvādaśāha* forms the subject-matter of the last *kāṇḍa*, while the other classes of sacrifice are dealt with in the second *kāṇḍa*. Thus the sacrifices treated of in the second *kāṇḍa* are *Gavāmayana*, *Ekāha* (i. e. one day sacrifices, of which *Jyotiṣṭoma* is the *prakṛti*), the *Ahīnas* (i. e. sacrifices lasting from two to twelve days), and the longer sacrifices lasting for more than twelve days (called the *Satras*). But the importance of the JB. lies more in its various legends, three of which have been extracted in the present Selections.

The JB. has its own grammatical and other peculiarities which have been noted in the General Instruction above.

No. 1 A

Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa II. 438–440

A General Note.

This extract contains the legend of the stolen cows of the gods traced by their bitch *Saramā*. The *Paṇis* were the cowherds of the gods. They absconded with the cows on day. Indra then sent *Suparṇa* in their search. As he went to the *Paṇis* on *Rasā*, where they had penned the cows, the latter bribed him with sweet food and when he returned and tried to dissimulate he was punished and cursed by Indra. Next was sent *Saramā*. After some wordy tussle, she was afforded a ford by the *Rasā;* and she went to the *Paṇis*. They tried a similar trick with her; but she was too faithful to the gods to be so enticed. She traced the cows; returned to Indra with the whereabouts and was very well rewarded for her fidelity.

Such is the story, that we have in the JB. extracted here. This story is, however, available to us in two slightly divergent versions. One we get in the *Bṛhaddevatā* and the other in *Śāṭyāyana Brāhmaṇa*. In the *Bṛhaddevatā version* we find that *Suparṇa* is altogether absent. *Saramā* herself is depicted to have fallen a prey to the draught of milk offered by the *Paṇis*. Returning to Indra she declares that she has not traced the cows, and is beaten by the wrathful Indra. Terror-striken she throws out the milk and runs back to the *Paṇis*. But Indra following the track of the milk traces the *Paṇis* and recovers the cows.

The *Śāṭyāyana Brāhmaṇa* version of this story is not available to us in full. What we know about it is from the brief notice that *Sāyaṇa* takes of it in his commentary on *Ṛg-veda* I. i. 62. According to this version *Saramā* agreed to go in search of the lost cows only on condition that Indra should 'give to our off-spring the good belonging to these cows, viz. milk, &c.' Indra having agreed to this condition, *Saramā* traced the cows and then Indra slayed the *Paṇis* and recovered his cows.

It may be observed that the *Bṛhaddevatā* version widely differs from the SB. version; for though the motif of milk is present in both, it has appeared as a temptation to *Saramā* in the one, while it is put forth as a condition by the upright *Saramā* in the other. Again though both the vertions agree in dropping the *Suparṇa* altogether, yet the *Bṛhaddevatā* seems to have given quite a different turn to the love of milk entertained by the upright *Saramā* of the SB. and thus paved the path for a further splitting up of the legend into two parts, one corresponding to the dishonest design of *Saramā* as in the *Bṛhaddevetā* and the other to the uprightness shown by her in the SB. And this is exactly what we have in the JB. version of the legend where the former aspect is represented by *Saramā* (unknown to both the *Bṛhaddevatā* as well as the SB.) while the latter is assigned to *Saramā* herself. Our version, it must be further noted, has shown *Saramā* in better lights by drooping the motif of condition which she is shown to have laid down before undertaking

the task for Indra. But there is little doubt that our version is indebted to the SB. version ; for we find one whole sentence which is not only common to both, but which is quite appropriate in the context of the agreement between *Saramā* and Indra (which occurs in the SB), whereas it appears to be hanging loose in the JB in the absence of a similar context. It would thus appear that the JB version is later than and represents an attempt to fuse the SB and the *Bṛhaddevatā* versions.

The oldest version of the legend preserved for us so far is perhaps what we get in the *Ṛg-veda* X, 108. It may be observed that the idea of the tussle (of course wordy) between *Saramā* and the *Rasā* which is found only in the JB version has a close parallel in the RV version. But it is also worth noting that even the earlier attempt of the *paṇis* to win over *Saramā* by requesting her to stay with them as their sister finds a counterpart in the RV version. On the whole, it would thus appear that the JB version of this legend is much closer to the RV version so far as the latter portion is concerned, though the source of the first portion for the present at least must be declared to be untraceable.

We may conclude this general note by drawing the readers' attention to the way in which this extract seeks to connect the legend with the sacrificial rite called *Abhiplava.*

Notes

P. 1, l. 1. The पणिs, in some passages, appear as mythological figures, demons who withold the cows or waters of heaven and to whom सरमा goes on a mission from इन्द्र. cf. RV. X. 108. In our passage also they figure as असुराः and are said to have been the cowherds (गोरक्षाः) of the gods. **l. 2** अपातस्थुः Perf. 3rd pers. plr. of अप + आ + √स्था. रसायां At the रसा or on the bank of रसा (cf. गङ्गायां घोषः). निरुध्य Abs. of नि + √रुध् 7 U. To pen. वलेन In a cave. अपिदधुः Perf. 3rd plr. of अपि + √धा 3 U. To cover, to hide. अतिकुप्य Abs. of अति + कुप् 4 P. To be extremely angry. Note that अति here has the sense of excess ; while in अतिससार it has the sense of beyond. **l. 3** लेपुः Perf. 3rd sing. of √लप (= √रप्) to speak; The Ms, here reads अलिकुपल्पुः which, being well-nigh impossible to interpret,

has been tentatively emended by Dr. Oertel into अतिक्रुप्य लेपुः. सुपर्ण One having good i. e. strong wings (पर्ण). It may be observed that the animal referred to by the expression सुपर्ण must be some bird. For in the following sentences it is said to fly away (प्र + √पत्) in search of the cows,. and to fly back (आ + √पत्) again. Oertel translates this expression as *eagle*, though on the basis of his being tempted by the पणिs with a draught of milk he seems to suggest his identity with हंस (swan) who has become proverbial in Indian Literature for his ability to separate milk from water. He also compares वाजस० संहिता० XIX 73 where a क्रौञ्च is said to drink milk from water and adds that there the commentator has assumed a transformation of the कुञ्च् into a हंस. But the identification of सुपर्ण with हंस would militate against the curse uttered on him by इन्द्र and the consequent change in his means of subsistence, as stated towards the end of the first paragraph in the present extract. It is also to be noted that he has yielded not only to the draught of milk as is said by Oertel, but four things of which milk is only one and that too not the first. The question of सुपर्ण's identity must, therefore, remain open and we have to be satisfied with the modest but sure conclusion that he is a bird. अन्विच्छ Imper. 2nd sing. of अनु + √इष् To go in search of. **l. 4.** अनुप्रपात Perf. 3rd sing. of प्र + √पत् To go out after i. e. in search of. **l. 5.** उपनिदधुः Perf. 3rd plu. of उप + नि + √धा. To offer. एतत् means सर्पिः क्षीरमामिक्षां दधि इति. The list of four things offered by the पणिs to सुपर्ण easily reminds us of मधुपर्क that is offered to an honoured guest or to a son-in-law even today. The ingredients of the मधुपर्क are enumerated in one line as दधि सर्पिर्जलं क्षौद्रं सिता चैतैश्च पञ्चभिः । प्रोच्यते मधुपर्कः ॥ (Apte's Dictionary). Another similar combination is the पञ्चामृत which is described as ' दुग्धं च शर्करा चैव घृतं दधि तथा मधु । ' (Apte's Dictionary). The list of the four ingredients in our passage may very well be said to be the most ancient precursor of the मधुपर्क and the पञ्चामृत. सहितः भू To be well satisfied with, is used with the genitive of the object resulting in satisfaction. तस्य = एतस्य i. e. with सर्पिः क्षीरं etc. **l. 6.** आस Perf. 3rd sing. of √अस् To be. The vedic language is not tied down by the rules of पाणिनि. It is far more ancient than he and his अष्टाध्यायी. बलि Offering gift or present. Generally a बलि is offered to the crow rather

than any other bird. The use of the expression बलि may, therefore, tempt one to identify the सुपर्ण as 'crow'. This identification may also very well agree with the curse of इन्द्र described in the end of this paragraph. And yet the identification can't be more than a mere conjecture for the present. l. 7. प्रवोचः Aor. 2nd sing. of प्र + √वच् with the augment अ dropped on account of the particle मा. (cf. 'न माङ्योगे' अष्टा॰). ऊचुः supply देवाः as subject. अविदः Imperf. 2nd sing. of √विद् to find. l. 8. कीर्तिः Dr. Oertel translates this expression as 'News'. Now evidently this is a question asked by सुपर्ण to gods; and when the latter ask him about the cows (naturally because he had been sent to search for them) it is absurd for सुपर्ण himself to ask the gods any news about the cows. In fact he is to give the news and not ask for it. Oertel's translation of this sentence, therefore, is not quite happy. Now कीर्ति derived from √कृत् (cf. कीर्तन or संकीर्तन) can be understood to signify 'description'. What the सुपर्ण wants to do is to avoid saying a ditect no to the question of the gods. He, therefore, asks them another question in return and gives a suggested no to them. The question is 'what is the description of (your) cows?' The idea is that because I do not know what sort of cows you had, I cannot say whither I have found them out or not. When the question is thus interpreted, it is easy to understand why इन्द्र got enraged and instead of giving a description of the cows seized him and wrung his throat.

P. 2, l. 1 पीळयन् = पीडयन्. Between two vowels ड् and ढ् are changed to ळ् and ळ्ह् respectively. Here ड् stands between ई (in पी) and अ (in ड). गोष्वेवाहं किल etc. Oertel construes अहं as the subject of the verb अस्मि supplied; and takes मुखं in apposition to it and complement to अस्मि. l. 2 ऊषुषः Gen. sing. of ऊषिवस् Perf. Part. of √वस् to dwell. Thus literally the remark of इन्द्र means:' 'I am the mouth of you who have stayed among the cows' and Oertel translates it as 'I for one am the mouth (to declare that) thou hast stayed among the cows'. This remark, thus understood, does not, however, suit the context quite well. For इन्द्र does not speak out anything himself. What he does is to wring the neck of सुपर्ण, as a result of which the

latter vomitted दधिद्रप्स and आमिक्षा that he had enjoyed at the पणिs' residence. This shows that what इन्द्र did was to try to open his mouth and out of his own (i. e. सुपर्ण's) mouth to take out the evidence of his having stayed among the cows. It is with this aim that he seized सुपर्ण by the throat and uttered this remark. The remark can, therefore, be better understood as signifying the thought going on in इन्द्र's mind : (viz. the opening of सुपर्ण's mouth) while he had seized his throat. The sentence, which we have here to yield this sense must be completed by supplying some such expression as उद्घाटयामि. Thus the remark means : 'Verily I (shall open) the mouth of you who have stayed among the cows' i. e. I shall see that you confess this fact. This interpretation is better for two reasons : (1) It suits well the thought going on in इन्द्र's mind at that time; and (2) The expression तव मुखम् can be understood in the literal sense without having to supply any further idea for construing it as it stands. It may also be observed further that the ellipsis also very well agrees with the angry mood of इन्द्र. Generally when overpowered by anger one is found to speak in incomplete sentences. The ellipses may also be explained by saying that इन्द्र did not think it necessary to speak out what he would do, for he had actually translated his thought into action. दधिद्रप्सं वा आमिक्षां वा either दधिद्रप्स or आमिक्षा i. e. something like दधिद्रप्स or आमिक्षा. The सर्पिः and other things that सुपर्ण has enjoyed at the residence of पणि's had by now fermented and came out of सुपर्ण's mouth in that condition. Hence what he vomitted looked like दधिद्रप्स or आमिक्षा. This force of वा deserves particular attention. उदास Perf. 3rd sing. of उद् + √अस् 4 P. To throw out. (i. e. to vomit.) सोयं etc. It is customary with the authors of the ब्राह्मणs to connect things of every-day life and experience with the stories of the past by several means. One of these is to state the origin or the source of the matters and things of to-day. This is what is done in this sentence which states that what we know as भूतिक (or भूमिक as it is otherwise read) is nothing but this दधिद्रप्स or आमिक्षा that was vomitted by सुपर्ण. l. 3. भूतिक The Ms. reads भूमिक which is emended by Oertel into भूतिक with the remark, 'This emendation is a mere make-shift.' This shows that even he is not satisfied

with the emendation. This expression he translates by 'Camphor Plant'. क्षीरस्वामिन् in his commentary on अमरकोश 717 quotes a couplet as from इन्दु (an ancient lexicographer of that name): 'शेलुः श्लेष्मातकः शीतो वसन्तकुसुमस्तथा। उद्दालकः कुर्बुरटः शेलुको भूतवृक्षकः। पिच्छिलः शापितः शेलुस्तथासद्बीजकुत्सितः।'. It is not unlikely that our भूतिक is the same as भूतवृक्षक in the above couplet which is also called वसन्तकुसुम corresponding to the expression वसन्ता प्रजायते in our passage. From the explanation of the name उद्दालक, given by स्वामिन्, it appears that this plant is स्पर्शेन स्फोटकारिन् (exploding at touch) and is also शीत (cool) as suggested by the name श्लेष्मातक. [cf. 'उद्दालयत्यङ्गमुद्दालकः स्पर्शेन स्फोटकारित्वात्। श्लेष्माणमतिशीतवीर्यत्वात् श्लेष्मातकः अत एव शीतः।' क्षीरस्वामिन्]. In fact शीत is one of its very names. The original भूमिक seems hardly explicable. वसन्ता evidently means 'in spring' though it is not easy to say what form it would exactly be! तत् Then. l. 4. जीवन Means of living, means of subsistence. It is to be derived from √जीव with the addition of अन in the sense of करण. (जीव्यते अनेन इति) नयन, लोचन, ईक्षण etc. are similarly formed. अश्लीलजन्म (अश्लीलात् or अश्लीलं जन्म यस्य) according as जन्म means (i) birth, origin or (ii) the source. अश्लील In the RV. we have an earlier form of this expression. It is अश्रीर (which is changed to अश्लील by the change of र् to ल्). In the line where it occurs, the expression अश्रीर is contrasted with सुप्रतीक (i. e. having a good face, beautiful to look at). अश्रीर (or अश्लील) originally meant 'ugly'. अश्रीर literally means 'not (अ) possessed' (र) of grandeur or beauty (श्री). But this expression which thus originally applied to physical appearance is later transferred to the realm of ideas and has come to signify 'slang'. Here, of course, it stands for some substance which is 'अश्लील' and may be taken to signify the secret organs which give out excretions. अश्लीलजन्म may, therefore, mean 'excretions and such other dirt'. l. 5. ग्रामस्य जघनार्धे यत् पापिष्ठं the worst (or the dirtiest) thing that (is to be found) in the hind part (i. e. the far extremity) of the ग्राम (i. e. the village). It may be remembered that in the villages people as a general rule go for excretions to a place far removed from the frequented area of their village. This corresponds to the ग्रामस्य जघनार्धे of our passage; and if this is correct then the पापिष्ठ here may refer to the excretions discharged there by

the people. l. 6. सरमा is the bitch of the gods. She was sent by इन्द्र to find out the stolen cows. Elsewhere she is said to have betrayed the cause of her master; but in the RV. and in our passage as also in the शाट्यायन ब्राह्मण she appears as a faithful employee of इन्द्र (See Introduction to this passage). l. 7. अनुप्रससार Perf. 3rd sing. of अनु + प्र + √सृ. To hasten forth after, to go quickly in search of. We have already seen that with सुपर्ण the expression used is अनुप्रपात while with सरमा it is अनुप्रससार. This is due to the fact that the former is a bird flying in the airs while the latter is an animal moving on the ground. l. 8. प्लोष्ये 2nd Fut. 1st Pers. sing. of √प्लु To swim. प्लोष्येत्वा is a sort of ultimatum given by सरमा to the रसा if she refuses to grant the request couched in the following sentence. l. 9. अवाच्य Abs. of अव + √अञ्च् To bend down or backward (i. e. for swimming). l. 10. प्लोष्यमाणा fem. of प्लोष्यमाण Fut. Part. of √ प्लु 1A. About to swim. ससार moved on. सा = रसा, ईक्षाञ्चक्रे Perf. 3rd pers. sing. of √ ईक्ष् to see; i. e. to think. शुनी (fem. of श्वन्.) a bitch. It was, indeed, a matter for disgrace to the mighty river रसा if an ordinary bitch were to swim her. To avoid this disgrace, therefore, रसा thought that she should be fordable to सरमा.

P. 3, l. 1. गाधः a ford. The Ms. reading as noted by Oertel is गाथा which would suggest the reading गाधा (rather than गाध). Then the sentence would be तस्यै ह गाधास i. e. Then she became fordable for her (i. e. सरमा). Oertel seems to have read गाधः in view of गाधेन occurring in the next sentence. But गाध, meaning ford, is only neuter in gender. To avoid this grammatical irregularity it is better to read गाधा which also has intrinsic as well as extrinsic probability to support it. The river says to herself गाधासानि. It is therefore more correct to read गाधास (rather than गाध आस). As for गाधेन in the next sentence it can be taken as Instr. sing. of गाध (n) a ford and thus there would be no difficulty. l. 2. अतिससार Perf. 3rd sing. of अति + √ सृ passed beyond, crossed. ताः i. e. the cows. l. 3. तथैव In the same way i. e. as before, as they had done in the case of सुपर्ण. l. 4. नाहमेतावदप्रिया etc. The spirited reply of सरमा to पणिs in our passage is similar to what we find in RV. X. 108. The बृहद्देवता version of the story

however, shows सरमा in a different light altogether. (see Introduction to this extract. एतावत् so much (used adverbially). अश्नियाम् More correctly we should have अश्नीयाम्. But the short forms are also found in the महाभारत, says Whitney. At any rate अश्नियाम् (or अश्नीयाम्) is Pot. 1st sing. of √ अश् 9p. to eat, to have for food. अविदम् Imperf. 1st sing. of √ विद्. I have already had. The implication is : Such food is no temptation for me.' l. 5. पद्वीः Dr. Oertel translates पद्वी as guide. Perhaps what सरमा means is that she has come to take away the cows from them. The use of expression पद्व्या is therefore proleptic. l. 6. लापयिष्यध्वे Fut. 2nd pers. plr. of the causal of √ लप् (= अप + √ लप् of the classical sanskrit) to tell or say what is not true, to tell a lie. You will not (i. e. you cannot) make me (or tempt me) to tell a lie (or to dissimulate). Or we may identify √ लप् with √ रप् in the RV. where it means 'to blame, to censure', and then सरमा's remark would mean: You cannot make me censure (or speak ill of) [इन्द्र, of course, and the gods]. उपहरिष्यध्वे Fut. 2nd Pers. sing. of उप + √ हृ To take close to i. e. to misappropriate. इन्द्रस्य (The gen.) is evidently to be construed with गाः. अनाचिषी. Here Oertel remarks that the word is not clear to him. He has, therefore, left out the word altogether untranslated. It is likely that the correct reading is अनाचिच्युषी (च्यु being dropped inadvertently by the scribe) Fem. of the Perf. Part. of आ + चि with the negative particle prefixed to it. आ + √ चि means to collect, gather. अनाचिच्युषी thus would mean 'who had not collected or gathered (i. e. got possession of) the cows'. Thus understood the expression supplies the reason why सरमा moved boldly on. उपससाह Perf. 3rd sing. of उप + √ सह्. To dash or dare forth or forward nearer (to the cows). l. 7. जरायु The outer membrane, the same as जारु in the line below. अपां जरायु The outer membrane of waters. Perhaps this signifies the watery compound within which the cows were penned. चखाद Perf. 3rd sing. of √ खाद् (cf. खादति in the next sentence.) to chew, to bite, to devour. उपजगौ Perf. 3rd sing. of उप + √ गै (or गा) to cry out (i. e. against). l. 8. त्यमिव वै etc. त्यम् = तम्. But what exactly is meant by this is not

quite clear. घ्नती fem. of घ्नत् Pres. Part. of √हन्. जारु = जरायु. The outer membrane (this is perhaps the same as what is called जार in Marathi which means the thin membrane which covers a new-born young one and which very often the mother animal seeks to eat). एतर्हि Even to this day, even now. निवचनम् saying, a reproach. **l. 10** पुनरासस्सार Went back again.

P. 4, l. 1. यथा मन्यध्वमेवम् In any way you think fit, any way you like. आजिहीर्षत Imper. 2nd Per. of the desiderative of आ + √हृ To take back, to recapture, to recover. अन्नादीमरे etc. This is the boon that इन्द्र has bestowed on सरमा for the faithful service she has done to him. The JB. does not show सरमा as agreeing to serve इन्द्र on some condition. The शाट्यायन ब्राह्मण, however, tells us that when asked by इन्द्र to go in search of the cows, सरमा agreed to do his bidding on condition that इन्द्र would give to their offspring the food belonging to these cows i. e. milk, etc. and we see how इन्द्र there agrees to do so almost in the same words as he has uttered in this sentence. अन्नादी consumer of food (अन्न) i. e. milk etc. **l. 3.** माचलाः Evidently this appears to signify a breed of dogs. Oertel notes that the expressions करिमाचल and गजमाचल are given by grammarians as signifying 'Lion'. अभिप्लव This is a six-day sacrifice (षडह). Here we are told that the gods prepared i. e. performed the अभिप्लव ceremony and got through with the help of the ceremony. This i. e. given as the reason why the ceremony is called अभिप्लव. The ऐत. ब्राह्मण deals with the अभिप्लव ceremony in Chapters XX and XXI and in the concluding section of the latter tells us that the rite is called अभिप्लव; for by it the sacrificers approach the world of heaven. In the present passage, however, the actual crossing of the river (रसा) is perhaps meant to be referred to by the expression अभिप्लव; and the name also appears to be due to this fact of crossing of the रसा by the gods with its help.

No. 1 B

Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa III. 101

A General Note.

This is another legend from JB. This legend also like the previous one is connected with a sacrificial detail. There

is a *Sāman* called *Sākamaśva* by means of which, we are told, a sacrificer attains *Tejaṣ* and *Brahmavarcasa* and at the same time strikes away the *pāpman* of his ancestors. The legend in this extract tells us why this *Sāman* is called *Sākamaśva* and at the same time demonstrates its *phalaśruti* by pointing out how by means of this *Sāman* these results were attained by an ancient sage named *Sākamaśva.*

The legend runs as follows :—Kakṣīvat once put a question to Priyamedha who finding himself unable to answer it, told him that his descendants will do it. Sākamaśva, nineth in descent from Priyamedha, saw this *Sāman* (which was later on named after him) and thereby realised the answer to the above question. Then going to Kakṣīvat, he gave the answer to him on behalf of himself and all his ancestors and thus relieved them of their *pāpman* and himself attained *tejas* and *Brahmavarcasa.*

Besides its connection with a sacrificial detail, we may also note the emphasis which the present extract lays on knowledge in the phrase य एवं वेद. In fact this is almost a slogan of Brahmanical Literature which emphasises the fact that an act will yield all that is predicted of it only to one who performs it with full knowledge of all the details.

Notes

P. 4, l. 7. तद्वेव etc. This सामन् referred to here is the आग्नेय प्रिणिधानम् (SV. I. 514). It is called साकमश्व because it was seen by साकमश्व, the nineth descendant of प्रियमेध to whom कक्षीवत् had put a question. प्रियमेध could not answer the question and said that his descendant will answer it. Ultimately it was साकमश्व who saw this सामन् and through it also the answer to the question. With that he relieved his ancestors of पाप्मन्. **l. 8** अमनुत Imperf. 3rd sing. of मन् to understand. **l. 9** नाकुलिभस्त्रा Bellows (भस्त्रा, भाता, in मराठी) of नाकुलि. It is not quite clear as to what is meant by नाकुलि. The expression may be derived from नकुल. But even then whether नाकुलि is meant to refer to the mere shape (of the भस्त्रा) or the substance (of which the भस्त्रा is made) remains doubtful. Some Mss. read हस्त्रा instead of भस्त्रा. From what follows it is evi-

dent that what is meant by this expression (whether भस्त्रा or हस्त्रा) is a sort of utensil for storing corn. In Konkana we have a word हांतर used in this sense. The similarity of this हांतर with हस्त्रा is so great that one is tempted to accept this reading—all the more so because the expression भस्त्रा can in no way be connected with the storing of corn. The change of ह to भ also is easy to explain. Finally ह very often appears as भ in the Veda—particularly ऋग्वेद (cf. ग्रह् = ग्रभ्). Secondly it is easy to see how a reader who could not make anything out of the expression हस्त्रा preferred to read it as भस्त्रा which is a wellknown Sanskrit word meaning Bellows. He, however, failed to notice that this भस्त्रा has to do a job quite different from what a भस्त्रा in the ordinary sense does. It may thus be seen that original हस्त्रा is changed into भस्त्रा either under the influence of the Vedic (Ṛgvedic) phonetics or owing to its being hard to interpret. हस्त्रा may, therefore, be preferred to भस्त्रा both here as well as in line below. **प्रियङ्गु तण्डुल** Some corn resembling rice but evidently inferior to it. **वा वा** may be understood as च च. Or it may suggest that the हस्त्रा was पूर्णा with some such corn as प्रियङ्गु or अधिकता. The kind of corn is immaterial for the story, the main point being couched in the expression पूर्णा as will be clear from the following sentences **अधिकतानां** Gen. plr. of अधिकता which is obscure. Evidently it stands for some corn, and very probably bears a contrast to प्रियङ्गु. Now if this conjecture is correct अधिकता may stand for some superior type of corn. It may also be that प्रियङ्गु and अधिकता refer to two kinds of rice corresponding to two varieties known as हळवें (that which ripens in a short period) and महान् (that which takes a longer period to ripe). Use of तासाम् (fem.) in the next sentence shows that the original word is अधिकता (fem.). The Genitive here is used in the sense of the instrumental. **l. 10 संवत्सरे संवत्सरे** Every year. For similar use of वीप्सा (repetition) cf. ' 'शैले शैले न माणिक्यं मौक्तिकं न गजे गजे।' **एकैकाम्** evidently we have to supply अधिकताम् and translate one by one i. e. one grain every year. **तावत्** formed from तत् with the addition of वतुप् (= वत्) in the sense of परिमाण (cf. the सूत्र 'यत्तयेतेभ्यः परिमाणे वतुप्' अष्टा॰ V. 2.39). It means 'that much' i. e. as many years as there were grains of corn in the हस्त्रा.

P. 5, l. 1. नावनः (नवमे भवः) belonging to or born in the nineth (generation), nineth in descent. आजज्ञे Perf. 3rd sing. of आ + √जन् 4 A. इत उद् इयाम् I should like to get out of this (i. e. out of the difficulty of giving an answer to कक्षीवत्'s question which प्रियमेध could not answer and which he had left for his descendants to answer). **l. 2** गातु may mean (i) way or path (√गा to go) which it usually does in the Veda. cf. 'यमो नो गातुं प्रथमो विवेद' RV. X. The word may also be derived from √गा to sing, and may then mean a song i. e. सामन्. Both these senses appear to be equally plausible. At any rate गातुम् and प्रतिवचनम् are in apposition to one another; and the sentence would mean : (i) May I find a way (in the form of) a reply (out of the difficulty to give an answer to the question) ! or (ii) May I find a सामन् (which would be the source of) a reply to the question ! In view of the following sentences this latter of the two interpretations would appear to be preferable. **l. 3** अभ्यगायत He sang it fully or again and again (अभि). It is better to understand अभि here in the sense of अभितः i. e. fully or completely. Dr. Oertel seems to take it in the sense of 'towards' and hence he feels like supplying the word कक्षीवत्. Thus he translates this sentence as 'He sang it over to' (कक्षीवत्). But this is hardly correct. For no purpose could be served by singing the सामन् to कक्षीवत्. On the other hand by singing it fully and perhaps repeatedly (i. e. by pondering over it) a reply to कक्षीवत्'s question was to be thought out. It must also be observed that साकमश्व had not as yet gone to कक्षीवत् and hence it is not possible to say that he sang the सामन् to कक्षीवत्. आद्रवत् Imperf. 3rd sing. of आ + √द्रु to hasten up. अभि towards (used with Accusative कक्षीवन्तम्). तम् goes with आद्रवन्तं दृष्ट्वा and not with अब्रवीत्. The object of अब्रवीत् is जनान् (his men) or some such expression understood. This is shown by the verb प्रास्यत (Imperf. 2nd sing. of प्र + √अस् to throw away) in the next sentence. **l. 4.** प्रत्युच्य Abs. of प्रति + √ब्रू to reply. **l. 5.** अतिप्रक्ष्यति 2nd Fut. 3rd sing. of अति + √प्रच्छ् To ask beyond or further (i. e. ask a question which I may not be able to answer; a question beyond my capacity). Evidently this would be a death-blow to कक्षीवत् and hence he wants to avoid it. **l. 6.** साम i. e. the साम pertaining to the ऋक् in question. इद्ध (P, P, P, of √इन्ध्)

enkindled. l. 7 एतत्वाहम् = एतत् त्वा (= त्वाम्) अहम्. एतन्मे पिता Complete this and the following sections by supplying प्रतिब्रवीति in them. l. 8 इत्या = इति आ. Note that this आ is used here in the sense of अभिविधि. आ meaning 'upto' is either inclusive or exclusive in its force. In both these senses it governs the Ablative. (cf. the सूत्र 'पञ्चम्यपाङ्परिभिः।' (अष्टा० II. 3.10) एतैः कर्मप्रवचनीयैर्योगे पञ्चमी स्यात्।...आ मुक्तेः संसारः, आ सकलाद् ब्रह्म।). तदेतत् goes with साम. l. 9. पूर्वेषां पितामहानाम् Here पितामह appears to be used in the sense of ancestors in general. अपाहन् Imper. 3rd sing. of अप + √हन् तेजस्वां (तेजस् + विन्) For this form cf.: the सूत्र 'अस्मायामेधास्रजो विनिः।' (अष्टा० V. 2.121.) ब्रह्मवर्चसी Possessed of Brahmanical lustre. l. 10. अप is to be read with हते. In Vedic Sanskrit the prefix is often separated from the main verb by several words standing between the two. य एवं वेद Importance of knowledge has come to be emphasised in India from very ancient days. Even actions are described as yielding their full result or fruit only to one who knows their underlying significance. साकमश्व Originally the name of the nineth descendant of प्रियमेध, here given to the सामन् seen by him. Very often things are named after their inventors or discoverers even in modern times.

No. 1 C.

Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa III. 120–128.

A General Note.

The legend of Cyavana's rejuvenation and his marriage with a young maiden (or rather maidens) is as old as the *Ṛg-veda*. In several places in the RV. (Hymns addressed to Aśvins) we come across the main features of the legend as we have it in the JB. Thus we know from the RV. that Cyavana (he is called Cyavāna in the RV.) was a decrepit old man; that a strong fine body was bestowed on him by the Aśvins who also made him the husband of young maidens. RV. also tells us of the Dadhyañ Ātharvaṇa disclosing the *madhu* (i. e. *madhu-vidyā*) to the Aśvins with a horse's head. These bare bones that we thus have from the RV. appear to

have gathered flesh in their journey through the vast labyrinth of Vedic literature. It may be interesting to see how and in what stages this has happened.

The legend of Cyavana is found in the RV., the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (SB) and the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa.* But some of the elements in the legend as we have it in the JB. are also found in the RV., the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* (TS) and the SB. The SB. IV. I. 5 gives us a version of the *Cyavana legend* in a slightly varying form. Thus Śaryāta Mānava of the SB. offers his daughter Sukanyā to Cyavana of his own accord; whereas in the JB. it is Cyavana who demands her hand and Śaryāta and his men at last bestow her on him with a fraudulent plan which is conspicuous by its absence in the SB. Again Sukanyā in the SB. asks Aśvins to rejuvenate her husband before she discloses to them why they were *asarva* ; while in the JB. she tells them that they were *asarva* because they were not *apisoma*; and asks them to approach her husband to know how to become *apisoma.* And then Cyavana himself seeks to be rejuvenated before he told them anything about it. Then again in the SB. as soon as Cyavana tells the Aśvins that they would get a share in *Soma* by fixing a head on the headless sacrifice of the gods, the Aśvins at once go straight to the gods and have a bargain with them. In the JB., however, Cyavana asks the Aśvins to go to Dadhyañ Atharvaṇa to know the secret about the headless sacrifice of the gods; and Dadhyañ also, after narrating the threat Indra had given him, agrees to the plan of the Aśvins, narrates the secret with the horse's head, and has his own head re-fixed in its place after the horse's head had been cut off by Indra.

Thus we see that the JB. version has the legend of Dadhyañ Atharvana fused with that of Cyavana. The SB., however, in a later passage narrates the Dadhyañ Ātharvaṇa legend which is almost identical with what we have of it in the Cyavana legend in the JB. The TS. also has this legend of the head of sacrifice which was supplied by the Aśvins. We don't, however get there the name of the sage Dadhyañ

Atharvaṇa nor do we find there any intervention on the part of Indra in that connection. There we are merely told that Aśvins got a separate *graha* for themselves at the sacrifice in return for the fixing up of the head on the headless sacrifice of the gods.

It may be seen that the RV. does not evince any connection between the legend of Cyavana on the one hand and that of Dadhyañ Atharvaṇa on the other. Nor does it explicitly refer anywhere to the headless sacrifice of the gods to which the Aśvins fixed up the head in order to secure a separate share for themselves in the *soma* at a sacrifice. The SB. knows both these legends, no doubt. But yet it does not seem to connect the legend of Cyavana with that of Dadhyañ Atharvaṇa, though both these legends in the SB. do have a common factor viz. *yajñasya śiraḥ* and the *āśvina graha*. From this it was an easy step to connect the two legends as is done by the JB. which makes Cyavana direct the Aśvins to go to Dadhyañ Atharvaṇa to know the secret of *yajñasya śiraḥ*. It may thus appear that there are three different stages in the development of the legends of Cyavana and *yajñasya śiraḥ* or *āśvina graha*. The first is to be had in the RV. (and also perhaps in the T. S.) where they are quite independent of each other, having no point of contact whatever except for the fact that they both represent two feats of Aśvins. The second stage is reached in the SB. which shows these still as two separate legends, but having the common factor in the headless sacrifice of the gods being endowed with a head by the Aśvins. Our extract represents the third and the last stage in the development where the two legends have been fused into one by making the Aśvins, under instruction from Cyavana, go to Dadhyañ Atharvaṇa to learn the secret of the headless sacrifice.

This legend appears in the *Mahābhārata* and some of the *Purāṇas* also with slight variations. A comparison of our legend (the JB. version) with the legend as we have it there may be equally interesting. But we leave the curious student to do it for himself.

From this legend we learn of :—(i) The two stages in the life of the अश्विन्s as deities of the Vedic pantheon viz. when they were only दर्विहोमिणौ and next when they became अपिसोमौ. (ii) The अश्विन्s as expert physicians and also surgeons. (iii) Power of मन्त्र which makes man stronger than god. (iv) Development of sacrifice : adding of the ceremony प्रवर्ग्य to the main bulk of the sacrifice as its head. (v) Glimpses of social, religious and moral aspects of society ; e. g. The relation between father and son, husband and wife, or god and man, or idea about old age etc.

The connection of this legend with sacrifice and sacrificial details is too evident to require any elucidation. Besides stating the importance of प्रवर्ग्य as the head of the god's sacrifice, it tells us why the सामन् in question is called च्यावन and at the same time states and demonstrates the फलश्रुति of the same. One more notable feature in this extract is the emphasis it lays on knowledge which, by the-by, appears to be a peculiar Brahmanical idea which is later on taken up by यास्क and others.

Notes

P. 6, l. 1 तासु On these (verses), the verses referred to here are *Sāma-veda* II. 361-362. च्यावनम् the chant is named after the seer च्यवन. च्यवन भार्गव A sage named च्यवन, a descendant of भृगु. l. 4. वास्तुपस्य ब्राह्मणम् the ब्राह्मण of वास्तुप. ब्राह्मण means a formula or मन्त्र. [For a discussion of the different senses of the expression see *General Introduction*] वास्तुप the protector of the abode (वास्तु), here used to refer to a deity–perhaps to be identified with वास्तोष्पति. Hopkins, however, refers to शतपथ० I. 7. 3. 1 and suggests that this must be रुद्र. Caland also supports Hopkins and points out to तैत्ति० संहिता III. 1. 9. 6 in support of his view. The वास्तु, according to Caland (translation) is the sacrificial place or site. निधाय After this we find in the MS. The words: ' त्रिः पुनः प्रयाणम् ' which are omitted by Caland, for he takes them to be an interpolation वेद Pres. 1st. sing. of ✓ विद् 2P. To know, तं मा etc. The pron. तत् is often used to refer to a person (or things) as described in the context

1.5.12. The अश्विन्s are said to have directed सुकन्या (च्यवन's wife) to take him to a pond (ह्रद) and dip him therein. (cf. तौ ह ऊचतुः एतं ह्रदमभ्यवहर। स येन वयसा कमिष्यते तेनोदैष्यति।). This also would show that शैशव of our passage is something like the ह्रद of the parallel passage in the शत० ब्रा०. l. 7 **निधाय** Here also after विधाय the Ms. has 'त्रिः पुनः प्रयाणम्' which Caland takes to be an interpolation. l. 8 **हीनः** P. P. P. of √हा 3P. To abandon. **पुनर्युवा स्यां** etc. Three कामs of च्यवन are (i) To be youth again ; (ii) To secure a maiden wife ; and (iii) To perform a sacrifice with a सहस्र (cows or coins as दक्षिणा). l. 9 **तुष्टुवांसम्** Acc. sg. of तुष्टुवस् Pf. part. of √स्तु 2 P. **शर्यातोमानव** The king named शर्यात, a descendant of मनु.

P. 7, l. 1. **ग्राम** Host. **ग्रामेणाध्यवास्यत्** cf. 'शर्यातो ह वा मानव इदं ग्रामेण चचार। स तदेव प्रतिवेशो निविविशे।' शत० ब्रा० IV. 1.5.2. **कुमाराः** young boys viz. **गोपालाः** (cowherds) and **अविपालाः** (shepherds) **शकृत्पिण्ड** lump of cow-dung. l. **2.** **आसपांसुभिः** with ashes and dust. The MS. reads आसपाण्डुभिः which Caland has emended into आसपांसुभिः on comparing our passage with 'यद् आसाः पांसवः पर्यशिष्यन्त' शत० ब्रा० IV. 5. 1. 9. **अदिहन्** Impf. 3rd sg. of दिह्. This is the reading as given by Caland. But Prin. Karmarkar reads अधिक्षन् (Aor. 3rd plr. of √दिह्). **शार्यात्येभ्यः** The corresponding शतपथ passage reads शार्यातेभ्य. But our Ms. consistently reads शार्यात्य here as well as in a sentence below, we also have शार्यात्या an epithet of सुकन्या. Thus जै० ब्राह्मण seems to use the expression शार्यात्य where the शत० ब्रा० would have शार्यात. The शार्यात्यs are, of course, the people or ग्राम of शर्यात. **असंज्ञाम्** is the correct reading and not असंज्ञान्. संज्ञा (सम् + √ज्ञा to be of one mind or accord, to be in agreement) concord : and असंज्ञा (= संज्ञायाः अभावः) means absence of concord, discord. **सोऽसंज्ञां शार्यात्यभ्योऽकरोत्** He created discord among the शार्यात्यs. This idiomatic use of √कृ deserves special attention. कृ in this sense governs the Dative of the person and Accusative of the thing or matter. Cf. अस्मा एतं पितरो लोकमक्रन् RV. 10.14.9. The असंज्ञा (i. e. its effect) is described in the sentence that follows. The शत० ब्रा० also has the same reading, though the latter part illustrating the असंज्ञा is changed. cf. 'तेभ्योऽसंज्ञां चकार, पितैव पुत्रेण युयुधे भ्राता भ्रात्रा' शत० ब्रा० IV. 1.5.3. असंज्ञा may perhaps be taken to mean 'absence of understanding.'

But this interpretation seems to be backed up neither by Vedic usage nor by the context and the parallel passage in SB. After मातर we have the letter व in the MS. It is dropped by Caland. We may perhaps emend it into वा. l. **4** सोऽब्रवीत् etc. Here we have to supply the object of अब्रवीत्. अद्राष्ट Aor. 2nd plr. of √दृश् 1 P. यतः = यस्मात् on account of which. l. **5.** ततोऽन्यत् = तस्मात् अन्यत् = But that. निष्ठावः is rather obscure. The शत० ब्रा० reads पुरुष एवायं जीर्णिः कृत्यारूपः शेते. [This shrivelled magical body which lies there is a man]. शत० IV. 1.5.5. translation by Muir. Even Caland is not sure of the exact sense of this expression and thinks that it is the same as occurring at ऐ० ब्रा० V. 4.2, and translates it as 'decrepit'. अधिक्षन् Aor. 3rd plr. of √दिहू 2 P. l. **9.** वेद Pr. 3rd sig. of √विद् 2 P. To know. अयासिषुः Aor. 3rd plr. of = √या To go. आद्रुत्य Abs. of आ + √द्रु To hasten towards. l. **10.** भगवः Voc. sg. of भगवत् (archaic). The MS. has भगो which has been emended into भगवो by Caland. In the Upaniṣads we do come across the expression भगोः which is a variant for भगवः. We may, therefore, emend भगो into भगोः which we can do with the least violence to the MS. material. सुकन्या the name of शर्यात's daughter. l. **11.** शार्यात्या (Daughter) of शर्यात. कल्याणी endowed with auspicious marks, beautiful.

P. 8, l. **1.** उपनिधाय abs. of उपनि + √धा 3p. To place near i.e. to offer. This root is used with Dative of the person and Accusative of thing that is offered. Cf. 'तस्मै हान्वागताय सर्पिः क्षीरमामिक्षां दध्यात्येतदुपनिदधुः' (P.) मे = मह्यम् (Dative governed by उपनिधाय) l. **2** ग्रामेण This is सहार्थे तृतीया. Along with your host (ग्राम) यातात् Impr. 2nd sg. of √या To go. Impr. 2nd and 3rd sg. forms are formed with the addition of तात् (instead of the regular हि and तु) optionally. These forms are more frequent in Vedic language than in the classical where they are used exclusively in the sense of blessing (आशिष्) according to the सूत्र 'तुह्योस्तातङ्ङाशिष्यन्यतरस्याम्।' अष्टा० VII. 1. 35. l. **3.** प्रतिब्रवाम Impr. 1st plr. of प्रति + √ब्रू 2 P. To give a reply. मन्त्रयित्वा Abs. of √ मन्त्र 10A. to hold consultation. l. **4.** अनया धनानि लभेमहि This shows, perhaps, that it was customary in those days to receive bride-money (कन्यायाः शुल्कम्). अनुसरणाय to pursue. (Dative governed by अलम् in the sense of समर्थः).

युनजामहै Impr. 1st plu. of √युज् 7P. To yoke i.e. to be ready for journey. Note the use of यदा ... अथ in the sense of 'as soon as' अन्वाधावतात् Impr. 3rd sg. in तात् of अन्वा + √सृ (धाव्) 1P. अनुसरिष्यन्ती fem. of अनुसरिष्यत् Fut. Part. of अनु + √सृ 1P. **l. 9.** जीवहायिनम् Caland remarks that the reading here is not quite sure. But he is not in favour of Hopkin's reading जीवं हायिनम् अहे परिधाव etc., and सा यदि etc. These appear to be the प्रतीकs (opening words) of two Vedic verses which, however, cannot be traced to their source. **l. 10.** तदेव Immediately; there and then. निर्विद्य Abs. of निर् + √विद्. **l. 11.** अश्विनौ The twin gods who in this story are seen to progress from the state of दर्विहोमिणौ to that of अपिसोमौ. We also notice here their skill in medicine and surgery. Reference is also made to their कल्याणतमं रूपम् भिषज्यन्तौ Pr. Part. from भिषज्य Den. दर्विहोमिणौ Having the oblation offered to them in a ladle (दर्वि). अनपिसोमौ Not having a special cup (ग्रह) of सोम for themselves at a sacrifice. **l. 12.** असर्वः Not complete, deficient. पतित्वनाय (Dative) governed by (अलम् = समर्थः) for being a husband.

P. 9, l. 1. एधि Impr. 2nd sg. of √अस् 2P. To be, to become. **l. 2.** आजुघोष Pf. 3rd sg. of आ + √घुष् This root seems to mean 'to hear or listen to a sound'. अयम् = च्यवनः प्रेयतुः = Pf. 3rd. du. of प्र + √इ 2 P. To go away. **l. 3** घोषः sound, noise. उपागाताम् Aor. 3rd du. of उप + √इ 2 P. To approach. अवोचताम् Aor. 3rd du. of वच् 2 P. to say, to speak. **l. 10.** अनपिसोमिनौ = अनपिसोमौ. **l. 11** ब्रूतात् Imp. 2nd sg. in तात् of √ब्रू 2 P. युवम् Archaic for युवाम्. असोमपौ = अनपिसोमौ.

P. 10, l. 1. ईशे. Archaic for ईष्टे Pr. 3rd sg. of √ईश् To be able. कस्तस्येशे who is able to see that etc. **l. 3.** श्वोभूते when it was श्वः (i. e. The next day). **l. 5.** आवम् Archaic for आवाम् **l. 8.** अभ्याचकृषतुः Pf. 3rd du. of अभ्या + √कृष् 1 P. To drag to or into. What is meant is that the अश्विन्s dragged च्यवन along with themselves into the सरस्वत्याः शैशवम्. **l. 9.** उदेष्यामः Fut. 1st plr. of उद् + √इ 2 P. to rise up, to come out. This shows that च्यवन and also the अश्विन्s were now having a dip into the सरस्वत्याः शैशवम्. सदृशाः like one another, alike. लक्ष्मक (n.) sign, mark. This reminds us of a similar incident in the नलोपाख्यान (महाभारत), where दमयन्ती had to distinguish her husband (नल)

from the four gods who also had put on the guise of नल. 1. 10 अवबिभेद Pf. 3rd sg. of अव + √भिद् 7A. To distinguish (from others). The MS. reads ज्ञात्वावाह्यवबिभेदेयम् which Caland has emended into ज्ञात्वावबिभेदेयम् = ज्ञात्वा, अवबिभेद इयम्. But we already have the word इयं in the beginning of this sentence. This is avoided by Prin. Karmarkar's reading which we have adopted. In the शत० ब्रह्मण च्यवन has directed सुकन्या to ask अश्विन्s to restore him (i. e. च्यवन, her husband) to youth if they expressed a desire to know why they are असर्व and असम्बद्ध as she described them to be. [cf. तौ यदि त्वा ब्रुवतः, 'केनावमसर्वौ स्वः केनासम्बद्धौ,' इति। सा त्वं ब्रूतात्, 'पतिं नु मे पुनर्युवानं कुरुतमथ वां वक्ष्यामि' इति। शत० ब्रा० IV. 1. 5. 10]. And it is सुकन्या who, as directed by the अश्विन्s took च्यवन to the pond there, from which then he came out with the age he desired. [cf. तावूचतुः एतं ह्रदमभ्यवहर। स येन वयसा कमिष्यते तेनोदेष्यति' इति। तं ह्रदमभ्यवजहार। स येन वयसा चकमे तेनोदेयाय॥ शत० ब्रा० IV. 1. 5. 13]. It was after restoring च्यवन to youth that अश्विन्s again appealed to सुकन्या to tell them how they were असर्व and असम्बद्ध and च्यवन gave them the reply. देवा एते etc. In our passage च्यवन directly tells अश्विन्s that the gods were performing a headless sacrifice and that they can secure a share in सोम by fixing the head after knowing the secret of it from दध्यङ् आथर्वण. In our passage सुकन्या has already told the अश्विन्s that they were असर्व because they were अनपिसोम; and च्यवन had to tell them only how they could become अपिसोम. In the शतपथ ब्राह्मण passage, however, च्यवन has to tell them why and how they are असर्व and असम्बद्ध; and this he does by stating that the gods who where performing a sacrifice have kept the अश्विन्s out of it. This in other words means that they are असर्व because they are अनपिसोम. The part ascribed to दध्यङ् आथर्वण in our passage is altogether omitted in the शत० ब्राह्मण story. There the अश्विन्'s request the gods to have a separate cup for them. The gods refuse to do so at first since the अश्विन्s are contaminated by their thick contact with men. But at last they concede अश्विन's request when they promise to put a head on the sacrifice and thus make it complete. The story in our passage contains fuller details and presents them in a more logical way. But the latter part of our story with the role of दध्यङ् आथर्वण in it is not unknown to the शत० ब्राह्मण where it occurs in a

slightly varying form at XIV. 1. 17. 25. We also have it in the तैत्तिरीय संहिता IV. 4. 9. 1.

P. 11, l. **2**. **अपशीर्ष्णा यज्ञेन यजमानाः** etc. Performing a headless sacrifice. यज्ञेन यजमानाः and तं कामं यस्तव कामः are typical illustrations of repetition which is characteristic of the style of the ब्राह्मणs. l. **3**. **दध्यङ्ङाथर्वणः** Note that ङ् is doubled when preceded by a short vowel and followed by a vowel. (Cf. ङमो ह्रस्वादचि ङमुण् नित्यम्। अष्टा० VIII. 3. 32 ह्रस्वात्परो यो ङम् तदन्तं यत् पदं तस्मात्परस्याचौ नित्यं ङमुडागमः स्यात्। प्रत्यङ्ङात्मा, सुगण्णीशः सन्नच्युतः। सि. कौ०) l. **6**. **प्रवर्ग्य** A sacrificial rite which is said to be the head of the sacrifice and is at the same time identified with the sun. This rite is said to be the head of the sacrifice, probably because it forms an item in the introductory ceremonial of the **अग्निष्टोम**. Our story perhaps shows that originally this ceremony was not connected with the अग्निष्टोम but was an independent rite. The principal feature of this rite is the libation of milk and ghee heated together in a pot called the महावीर. According to the ऐत. ब्राह्मण this rite represents a mystic union of the gods providing a new body for the sacrificer; while there are other passages where the rite is taken to be a sun-spell. Goldner adopts the former view and holds that that it is an allegory of sexual union in general. l. **9**. **कस्मै कामाय** For what purpose? **इन्द्रो वै तदपश्यत्** etc. For this read the following extract from the शतपथ ब्राह्मणः तेनापशीर्ष्णा यज्ञेन देवा अर्चन्तः श्राम्यन्तश्चेरुः ॥ १७ ॥ दध्यङ् ह वा आथर्वणः एतं शुक्रमेतं यज्ञं विदाञ्चकार यथा यथैतद्यज्ञस्य शिरः प्रतिधीयते यथै व कृत्स्नो यज्ञो भवतीति ॥ १८ ॥ स हेन्द्रेणोक्त आस। एतं चेदन्यस्मा अनुब्रूयास्तत एव ते शिरश्छिन्द्या-मिति ॥ १९ ॥ तौ होत्येचतुः। उपत्वायावेति,... ॥ २१ ॥ स होवाच। इन्द्रेण वा उक्तोऽस्म्येतं चेदन्यस्मा अनुब्रूयास्तत एव ते शिरश्छिन्द्यामिति। तस्माद्वै बिभेमि यद्वै मे स शिरो न छिन्द्यान्न वामुपनेष्य इति ॥ २२ ॥ शत० ब्राह्मण XIV. 1. 17-22. l. **12**. **स वै नावश्वस्य** etc. When the अश्विन्s make their proposal, दध्यङ्, though agreeing to it, expresses a desire to see how that could happen. And अश्विन्s at once demonstrated the matter by themselves taking up horse's head and conversing with one another, and singing chants and reciting ऋक् and यजुः मन्त्रs.

P. 12, l. **3**. **श्रद्धाय** Abs. of श्रद् + √धा 3 P. To put faith in, to have confidence in. The demonstration inspired दध्यङ्

with confidence and he agreed to their proposal. तेनाश्वस्य शीर्ष्णा etc. Then he told the secret to the अश्विन्s with the horse's head that was fixed on his trunk by them. It may be observed that the RV. tells us about the sage दध्यङ् आथर्वण instructing अश्विन्s in मधु (= मधुविद्या) with a horse's head. Cf. तद्वां नरा सनये दंस उग्र आविष्कृणोमि तन्यतुर्न वृष्टिम्। दध्यङ् ह यन्मध्वाथर्वणो वामश्वस्य शीर्ष्णा प्र यदीमुवाच ॥ RV. 1. 116. 12. This story we also get at शत० ब्रा० XIV. 1. 17–25 where the author declares that it forms the subject matter of RV. 1. 116. 12 quoted above. **l. 4.** **इदमश्वशीर्षम्** This is an exposition of the expression शिरः in the preceding sentence. **l. 7.** **आध्वे** Pr. 2nd plr. of √आस्. 2 A. **l. 8.** **आवम्** Archaic for आवाम्. **l. 9.** **प्राभ्याम्** goes with नौ both are Dative forms. See note on this peculiar use of तद् on p.   above. **l. 10.** **ग्रह** A cup of सोम at a sacrifice.

P. 13, l. 4. अध्वर्यु The chief priest at a sacrifice. एतद् Thus. **l. 6.** **सामन्** Vedic loc. sg. of सामन्. Loc. sing. forms of words ending in अन् are optionally formed without the addition of termination. **अवरुन्द्धे** Pr. 1st sg. of अव + √ रुध् 7A. To secure. **l. 7.** **यत्काम** etc. Such फलश्रुति is a usual phenomenon in the ब्राह्मणs. But the main point to be noted about these फलश्रुतिs is the importance that is attached therein to knowledge. The idea is that not mere activity, but activity done with full knowledge of the details and also the result thereof. **l. 9.** **सामावान्नाद्यं = साम अव अन्नाद्यं** Note that अव is to be connected with रुन्द्धे. **अन्नाद्यम्** Eatable food. अपश्यत् It is our orthodox belief that the मन्त्रs of the Vedas are अपौरुषेय and that they were merely seen by the several ऋषिs to whom they have been ascribed. The word ऋषि itself is formed according to the सूत्र 'साक्षाद् द्रष्टरि संज्ञायाम्' अष्टा० V. 2. 91. on the basis of this view. **l. 10.** च is a misprint for य (= यः) य एवं वेद the Brāhmanas generally lay stress on the knowledge (of the various factors) in the absence of which the act would not yield the desired or expected result.

No. 2 (A, B)

The Chāndogyopaniṣad : A General Note.

The छान्दोग्योपनिषद् is admittedly one of the most ancient उपनिषद्s, and forms the concluding eight chapters (called प्रपाठकs) of the मन्त्रब्राह्मण of the कौथुम recension of the सामवेद. It comprises eight chapters each containing several shorter sub-divisions called कण्डिकाs.

' It starts with the mystical interpretation of the chants of the सामवेद and the उद्गीथ (loud song) which covers the first two chapters of the work. The *second chapter* ends with a discussion of topics like the origin of the mystic syllable and the three आश्रमs. In the *third* is expressed the idea of ब्रह्म dwelling whole and undivided in the heart of man as the sun of the universe and also the way to attain it, and a declaration of one of the great philosophical principles ' सर्वं खल्विदं ब्रह्म ' ultimately concluding with a speculation on cosmogony. The *fourth chapter* begins with the legend of जानश्रुति पौत्रायण offering a large tribute and his daughter to रैक्व for securing instructions in the संवर्ग विद्या, and ends by stating the way in which the soul goes to ब्रह्मन् after its departure from the mortal coils. In the *fifth chapter* we get the theory of transmigration and also that of the unreality of the phenomenal world. This latter is clearly illustrated, emphasised and expressed in clear terms in the *next chapter*. The *seventh chapter* treats of the various उपासनाs of ब्रह्मन् ranging from नामन् to भूमन् which is declared to be all-in-all and the आत्मन् within us. The उपनिषद् *concludes* with a discussion about आत्मन् in the heart and the universe, the way to attain it, and its distinction from the non-self by referring to the three states viz. जाग्रत्, स्वप्न, and सुषुप्ति which it goes through.'

From the above account of the contents of this उपनिषद् it will be evident that almost every chapter treats of some separate topic and ends with some supplementary matter only loosely connected. The composite nature of the work makes it more likely than not that the different sections are the products of different authors and times.

No. 2 A.

छान्दोग्योपनिषद् IV. 1-3.

A General Note.

As already stated above the fourth chapter tells the legend of जानश्रुति पौत्रायण receiving instructions from सयुग्वा रैक in what is known as the संवर्गविद्या. From the extract itself it is clear that the expression संवर्ग is to be derived from सम् + √वृज् and means 'What absorbs' (संवृङ्क्ते इति).

जानश्रुति पौत्रायण, a pious king, coming to know of the wisdom of रैक, the man with the cart, finds him out with the help of his bard (क्षत्ता) and offers him very valuable presents and also his daughter to receive instructions from him in the highest truth. The latter tells him that वायु and प्राण are the संवर्ग (absorbing principle) in the external world and the internal sphere respectively.

The idea of the all-absorbing principle being the highest substance behind every thing internal or external is further brought home to the reader by the introduction of the short dialogue between शौनक कापेय and अभिप्रतारिन् काक्षसेनि on the one hand and a ब्रह्मचारिन् on the other.

It is interesting to note here how this highest principle has been described particularly as the आत्मा of the देवs. No less noteworthy is the antethesis in the line 'महान्तमस्य महिमानमाहुरनद्यमानो यदनन्नमत्ति।'.

This extract is interesting for several reasons. It is first of all a fine example of the easy flowing style of the older prose उपनिषद्s. It also shows the psychology of authors of the उपनिषद् in making their teaching easier, more interesting and appealing by introducing the story element or rather dramatic setting. Another important point to note is the way in which जानश्रुति is addressed by रैक. This term viz. शूद्र very likely has been used by रैक only to show his absence of respect for जानश्रुति even as in modern times we do find people sometimes using terms of abuses in addressing their inferiors. To the ancient students of this उपनिषद्, however, this gave rise to the vexed problem as to whether a शूद्र was entitled to the उपनिषद्विद्या. We can imagine how early this question must

have cropped up when we find that even बादरायण in his ब्रह्मसूत्र had to devote one special अधिकरण (1. 3. 34–38) to a discussion of this topic and offer a different explanation of the term शूद्र just to show that a शूद्र as such was not entitled to the उपनिषद्विद्या. Not less interesting is the mention of the names रैक्वपर्ण and महावृष which appear respectively as the name of a ग्राम and a देश. The महावृषs are mentioned in the अथर्ववेद (V. 22. 4. 5. and 8) along with मूजवत् and बल्हिक beyond it. The बल्हिक is identified with Balkh which was the capital of Bactria. It is not unlikely, therefore, that महावृष in the अथर्ववेद, and in our passage also signify a land somewhere near Balkh. The name रैक्वपर्ण, however, stands beyond the pale of identification and has much to do with the name of रैक्व himself.

Nor should we remain blind to the significance of the introductory description of जानश्रुति, the conversation that is said to have taken place between the two हंसs, and also the description of रैक्व as sitting under the cart scratching his itching body. The description of जानश्रुति very well shows how people in general in those days were dissatisfied with the कर्ममार्ग which was taught by the ब्राह्मणs and of which जानश्रुति is shown as a typical follower. The ज्ञानमार्ग, taught in the उपनिषद्s, not only brought its reward here in this world only (unlike the कर्ममार्ग), but was in addition capable of enlightening the mind and the soul. This explains जानश्रुति's eagerness to acquire the संवर्गविद्या even at a very high price. This very general tendency of attaching more importance to ज्ञानमार्ग and running down the कर्ममार्ग is evinced by the conversation of the हंसs; while the peculiar circumstances of रैक्व are meant to show that a man who is possessed of the highest knowledge cares for nothing worldy, not even for his own body; and also that it is the highest knowledge that is far more important than everything else including worldly prosperity and religious merit. (Also see Notes for शङ्कर's view on the significance of the description of जानश्रुति.)

Notes

Introducing the passage शङ्कर brings out the various points that we should note here. वायुप्राणयोः ब्रह्मणः पादद्दष्ट्यध्यासः पुरस्ताद्वर्णितः।

अथेदानीं तयोः साक्षाद् ब्रह्मत्वेनोपास्यत्वाय उत्तरमारभ्यते। सुखावबोधार्था अख्यायिका, विद्यादानग्रहणविद्याप्रदर्शनार्था च। श्रद्धान्नदानानुद्धतत्वादीनां च विद्याप्राप्तिसाधनत्वं प्रदर्श्यते आख्यायिकया।'.

P. 14, l. 1. जानश्रुतिः = जनश्रुतस्य पुत्रः। पौत्रायणः = पुत्रस्य पौत्रः। पुत्र here is a proper noun. श्रद्धादेयः Giving away things in good faith. This is quite in keeping with the instructions 'श्रद्धया देयम्। अश्रद्धयादेयम्।' (तैत्तिरीयोपनिषत् I. 11. 3). The emendation श्रद्धादेवः, therefore, is quite unwarranted. बहुपाक्यः (बहु पच्यते गृहे अस्य इति) who got large quantities of food cooked in his kitchen i. e. who fed many persons every day as a religious duty. This description of जानश्रुति is meant to show the qualifications of a man fit to receive instruction in the sacred lore. **l. 2** आवसथ (from आ + √वस्) = धर्मावसथ Free and charitable boarding houses. मापयाञ्चक्रे Perfect 3rd sg. of the causal of √मा 3 U. caused to be erected. मेऽत्स्यन्तीति can be easily construed; and hence Böhtlink's emendation वत्स्यन्ति is uncalled for मे i. e. मत्सम्बन्धि (at my expense). **l. 3** अथ ह = अथ कदाचित्. अभ्युवाद Perfect 3rd sg. of अभि + √वद् 1 P. To speak to, to address. **l. 4** भल्लाक्ष This term, according to शङ्कराचार्य, is suggestive of dimness of sight. आनन्दगिरि also remarks, 'भल्लाक्षशब्दो भद्राक्षविषयः सन् विरुद्धलक्षणया मन्ददृष्टित्वसूचकः।'. It may even be taken as a proper noun, or even as a term of endearment. समं दिवा like day light; or like the sky. Taking into consideration the fact that the conversation is taking place at night we may translate समं दिवा 'As by day', meaning thereby that जानश्रुति was preparing food not only by day, but also at night. **l. 5** प्रसाङ्क्षीः Aorist 2nd sg. of प्र + सञ्ज् with the augment dropped. त्वा = त्वाम् = आत्मानम्. प्रधाक्षीः Aorist 2nd sg. of प्र + दह् with the augment dropped. This form can very well be construed if त्वा is taken to mean आत्मानम् and तत् here (and in the previous portion also) as meaning 'so, therefore'. Thus the हंस says, 'समं दिवा ज्योतिराततम्। तद् (therefore) मा प्रसाङ्क्षीः (and) तद् (therefore) त्वा (आत्मानं) मा प्रधाक्षीः इति।'. If, however तत् in this latter part is taken to stand for तेजस्, then प्रधाक्षीः should be प्रधाक्षीत्, as शङ्कराचार्य remarks 'पुरुषव्यत्ययेन मा प्रधाक्षीदिति'. **l. 6** कम्वरे एनमेतत्सन्तं etc. The order of words here is again irregular. It should be 'कम्वरे एनं सयुग्वानमिव रैक्वं सन्तमेतदात्थ' i. e. Of whom are you speaking thus as though etc. एतद् refers to

what one हंस has said to the other in the preceding sentence and is the object of आत्थ. This construction of एतद् seems to be favoured by the fact that in section 6 below एतद् is thus construed with उक्तः। एतत् can also be construed with सन्तं to mean 'such as he is'. In this case the sequence of words is all right. But such use of एतत् is unusual. l. 7 यो नु etc. This sentence is elliptical, and means 'यो नु (भवता उक्तः स) कथं सयुग्वा रैक्व इति।'. Such elliptical sentences also mark the colloquial style. The emendation को नु is uncritical. सयुग्वा (सह युग्वना वर्तते इति), युग्वन् A cart. **l. 8** कृताय विजिताय as two separate words may be taken as Dative Absolute to mean 'when one has the कृत throw'. Or it may be taken as a compound expression to mean 'to one who has won with the कृत throw'. The Dative may also be directly construed with संयन्ति as a verb of motion. अय = Throw. अधरेऽयाः (All) the lower throws. संयन्ति Go to, combine in. For an account of the' game of dice which lies at the root of this simile here read : 'क्रमेण एकद्वित्रिचतुरङ्काङ्कितैः प्रदेशैरङ्कचतुष्टयवान् पाशो भवति। तत्र एकाङ्कः कलिः, द्व्यङ्को द्वापरः, त्र्यङ्कस्त्रेता, चतुरङ्कः कृतम्। तत्र द्यूते पञ्च स्वीयाः पञ्च परकीयाश्च दीनारादयः स्थाप्यन्ते। तदितः पाशप्रक्षेपे यद्येकाङ्क उपर्यायाति तर्हि स्वीयेष्वेक एव जितो भवति। यदि द्वौ तदा परकीयं दीनारद्वयं स्वीयश्चैको जितः। यदि त्र्यङ्क उपरि पतेत् तदा परकीयं स्वीयं च त्रयं जितम्। चतुरङ्कस्योपरि पतने सर्वेऽपि स्वीयाः परकीयाश्च जिता भवन्ति। तथा कलिपाते जयो नास्ति। द्वापारादिपाते उत्तरोत्तरवृध्द्या जयोऽस्ति।' भारतभावदीप on विराटपर्व 50.24. l. 7 एवमेनं etc. The point of the simile is that just as कृत includes all the lower throws similarly रैक्व's धर्म includes धर्मजात of all the peole.

P. 15, l. **3.** संजिहान; present part. of सम् + √हा 3 A. To get up from bed. क्षत्ता A door-keeper. cf. 'क्षता स्यात् सारथौ द्वाःस्थे' अमरकोश. l. **4** अङ्गारे ह etc. This question on the part of जानश्रुति can be understood only on the supposition that the क्षत्ता had praised him in very high-sounding terms as usual. शङ्कराचार्य proposes another interpretation according to which this sentence is not a question, but a command. cf. अथवा सयुग्वानं रैक्वमात्थ गत्वा मम तद्दिदृक्षा। तदा इवशब्दोऽवधारणार्थोऽनर्थको वा वाच्यः।'. This interpretation, however, is not only unnatural but also forced requiring much to be understood. The difficulty about इव has been noticed by शङ्कराचार्य also. l. **9** यत्रारे. etc. Go (अर्च्छ) there where a true ब्राह्मण should be sought for i. e. एकान्तेऽरण्ये

नदीपुलिनादौ विविक्ते देशे (as शङ्कराचार्य explains). l. **11.** पामन् Itch. अभ्युवाद Perfect of अभि + √वद् To address.

P. 16, l. 1. अरा ३ इति Vowels according to Sanskrit grammarians are ह्रस्व, दीर्घ, or प्लुत according as they take one, two or three मात्राs or syllabic instants to utter. cf. ऊकालोऽज्झस्वदीर्घप्लुतः अष्टाध्यायी 1.2.27. A vowel is made प्लुत (i.e. lengthened to cover three मात्राs) for the sake of emphasis, or for loudly calling out, and so on, cf. 'प्रत्यभिवादेऽशूद्रे। दूराद्धूते च।' अष्टाध्यायी 8.2.23–24 etc. The quantity of the मात्राs is marked by lengthening the vowel and putting the figure 3 after it. Thus अरे इति = अर इति (by सन्धि) which when turned into प्लुत becomes अरा ३ इति. According to शङ्कराचार्य, here the प्लुत signifies अनादर. l. **2.** प्रत्येयाय Perfect 3rd sg. of प्रति + आ + √इ. 2 P. to return. l. **4.** तत् i. e. तत् सर्वं all those things. जानश्रुति took all these things evidently to please रैक्क from whom he wanted to learn the sacred lore, following, of course, the general rule 'रिक्तहस्तेन नोपेयाद् राजानं देवतां गुरुम्।' l. **5** अनु should be construed with शाधि (Imperative 2nd sg. of √शास्); or अनु may be taken as a कर्मप्रवचनीय governing the accusative देवताम्. l. **6** भगव; Voc. sg. of भगवत्. l. **7** अहहारेत्वा शूद्र etc. According to शङ्कराचार्य, अह is only an expletive; and हारेत्वा is a compound word meaning 'हारेण (= निष्केण) सहिता इत्वा (= गन्त्री i. e. रथः)', i. e. cart with the necklace. Thus the whole sentence is 'अह हारेत्वा गोभिः सह तवैव अस्तु।'. This interpretation is certainly ingenious and forced also. But it has got the advantage of making the sentence refer to all the presents brought by जानश्रुति. Moreover once the explanation of हारेत्वा is accepted the whole construction is as smooth as can be expected. Bōhtlink splits the words as अहह अरे त्वा etc. taking अहह in the sense of धिक् governing the Accusative त्वा and proposes to supply some such expression as एतत् सर्वं as the subject of अस्तु. This construction has the disadvantage of having to supply an important part as the subject. गोभिः सह naturally requires some other expression signifying things that are there along with (सह) the cows. शङ्कराचार्य finds this expression in हारेत्वा with his ingenuity while Böhtlink proposes to supply एतत् सर्वम् to serve the purpose. According to the general rules of intetpretation evolved by the मीमांसाशास्त्र, अध्याहार (taking some words or

expression as understood) is a greater evil and has to be avoided by resorting to लक्षणा or some such mode of interpretation. From this point of view शङ्कराचार्य's explanation is certainly better than that of Bōhtlink. शूद्र जानश्रुति, though really a क्षत्रिय, is thus addressed by रैक्क only in contempt and hence the word need not be taken too literally. Nor is the great ingenuity shown by शङ्कराचार्य in explaining this expression at ब्रह्मसूत्र 1.3.34 in any way called for here. l. **12** मुखमुपोद्गृह्णन् (उवाच)- शङ्कराचार्य explains this as मुखं द्वारं विद्याया दाने तीर्थमुपोद्गृह्णन् जानन् इत्यर्थः ।' It has been variously translated ; (i) Opening her mouth (in order to know the girl's age by examining her teeth), Max Mūller; (ii) Taking her (the damsel) to be the cause of his imparting instruction, (R. Mitra); (iii) accepting her as the adequate fee, (Dravid); (iv) Then lifting up her face towards himself (Hume). उपोद्गृह्णन् would rather mean 'Lifting up and scrutinizing'. आजहारेमा; शूद्र Bōhtlink proposes to read 'अहहार इमाः शूद्र', construing 'अहह अरे' as above, and taking इमाः as referring to the gifts with the exception of the girl. As it is आजहार is Perfect 3rd sg. (of आ + √हृ) and we must supply भवान् as the subject. The use of the Perfect tense here may be justified by referring to the सूत्र 'प्रश्ने चासन्नकाले' अष्टाध्यायी 3.2.117 which भट्टोजी explains as आसन्नकाले पृच्छ्यमानेऽर्थे लिङ्विषये लङ्लिटौ स्तः ।' Then, the sentence means. 'Have you (really) offered these (cows and other things) etc. ? Or we may take the sentence as a mere statement, and supply after it तत् साधु as is done by शङ्कराचार्य. This however involves अध्याहार and hence not quite happy. आलापयिष्यथा ; Conditional 2nd sg. of the causal of आ + √लप्. अनेनैव मुखेन By this mouth alone. Evidently a pun on the word मुख is intended.

P. 17, l. 2. अस्मा उवास Where he i. e. रैक्क dwelt for him (i. e. जानश्रुति) i. e. at the request of जानश्रुति to impart the विद्या to him. The emendation उवाच for उवास is unnecessary ; nor is it necessary to take the verb उवास as having a causal sense implied (अन्तर्भावितण्यर्थ) and render it by 'where he was made to stay (or established) by him (i. e. जानश्रुति)' शङ्कराचार्य resorts to अध्याहार and completes the sentence by adding 'तानसौ ग्रामानददादस्मै रैक्काय राजा'. But this is not necessary. **l. 3** संवर्गः-संवृङ्क्ते इति. (Cf. Sections 2 and 3 below), though शङ्कराचार्य offers several derivations, cf. 'संवर्जनात् संग्रहणात् संग्रसनाद् वा

संवर्गः. Translated variously as (i) A snatcher-unto-oneself (Hume); (ii) Ultimatum, (R. Mitra); and (iii) The be-all and end-all (of all things), (Dr. Belwalkar), उद्वाति Present 3rd sg. of उद् + √वा To go out. अप्येति Present 3rd sg. of अपि + √इ To merge into. l. **5.** वायुर्ह्येवैतान् etc. This through etymology shows the propriety of the expression संवर्ग as applied to वायु. **l. 6.** अधिदैवतम् Concerning the sphere of the divinities. It should be noted that अग्नि, सूर्य, चन्द्र and आपः are the four देवताs which are said to merge into वायु who on that account is called संवर्ग in the sphere of the divinities. **l. 7.** अध्यात्मम् Concerning the sphere of the body, i.e. the internal sphere as opposed to अधिदैवतम् which concerns the external sphere. **l. 8.** प्राणो वाव संवर्गः. In this sphere प्राण is the संवर्ग in which merge वाक्, चक्षुः, श्रोत्रं and मनः as we can see from the sleeping state. **l. 10.** द्वौ संवर्गौवायु (among the divinities) and प्राण (in the body) are two संवर्गs which absorb into themselves अग्नि, सूर्य, चन्द्र and आपः on the one hand, and वाक्, चक्षुः, श्रोत्रं and मनः on the other respectively. l. **11** अथ ह etc. Here is introduced another legend in praise of the संवर्गविद्या. कापेयः i.e. of the कपि गोत्र. काक्षसेनिः Son of कक्षसेन. परिविष्यमाणौ Present Participle of परि + √विष् passive. 'Being served at dinner'. **P. 18, l. 2** महात्मनश्चतुरो देव एकः etc. 'यः एकः देवः भुवनस्य गोपाः चतुरो महात्मनः जगार स कः।' कः may be taken as an interrogative pronoun and the whole sentence, as question. 'Who is that god etc.?' Or कः may mean प्रजापति or ब्रह्मन् in which case the sentence is a mere statement. चतुरः महात्मनः evidently are अग्नि, सूर्य, चन्द्र and आपः, the एकः देवः is वायुः spoken of in the beginning of this passage. l. **3** बहुधा = अध्यात्माधिदैवताधिभूतप्रकारैः (शङ्कराचार्य). l. **4** यस्मै. For whose sake, What the ब्रह्मचारिन् means is that their action in refusing food to a ज्ञानिन् like him was as wise as denying the master himself an access to his own house! l. **5** प्रतिमन्वानः Present Part. of प्रति + √मन् 8 A To reflect upon. **l. 6** आत्मा देवानां etc. This is what occurred to कापेय शौनक. हिरण्यदंष्ट्रः = अमृतदंष्ट्रः or अभग्नदंष्ट्रः (according to शङ्कराचार्य बभसः (√भस् to eat) All devouring, अनसूरिः (न + असूरिः) Not unwise i.e. omniscient. **l. 7** अनद्यमानः (न + अद्यमानः) Not being eaten up. l. 8 ब्रह्मचारिन्नेदमुपास्महे। (i) 'ब्रह्मचारिन् न इदम् उपास्महे।' i.e. We do not meditate on this (aspect of) ब्रह्मन्. What is meant is that we meditate not upon this lower aspect of ब्रह्मन् but on the परं ब्रह्म only. (ii) 'ब्रह्मचारिन् आ इदम् उपास्महे।' i. e. We do meditate on

this and this only. The first interpretation is not quite complimentary to संवर्गविद्या and hence not acceptable. दत्तास्मै भिक्षाम् —अस्मै = ब्रह्मचारिणे. Evidently this is addressed to the cooks who were serving food. l. 10. ते वा एते etc. The legend ends with ददुः, and from here again is resumed the main teaching. l. 10. पञ्चान्ये पञ्चान्ये The first five are अग्नि, सूर्य, चन्द्र, आपः and वायुः, and the other five are वाक्, चक्षुः, श्रोत्रं, मनः and प्राणः दश सन्तस्तत् कृतम्. The two together make ten. A gambler having the कृत throw also, as we have been above, gets all the ten coins that are staked, so that कृत signifies ten. This leads to the identification of these दश with the कृत throw. For the कृत throw etc. see above l. 11. सैषा विराडन्नादी etc. This explained by शङ्कर as 'सैषा विराड् दशसंख्या सत्यन्नं चान्नाद्यन्नादिनी च कृतत्वेन। कृते हि दशसंख्या अन्तर्भूता अतोऽन्नमन्नादिनी च सा।...एवंविदोऽस्य सर्वं कृतसंख्याभूतस्य दशदिक्सम्बद्धं दृष्टमुपलब्धं भवति।'. विराज् means (i) food and also (ii) a metre having lines of ten syllables. तया through it.

No. 2 B

छान्दोग्योपनिषद् VI, 11-16

A General Note

The sixth chapter of the छान्दोग्योपनिषद् (from which six out of a total of sixteen sections have been extracted here) is perhaps the most important and the most famous portion of this उपनिषद्. It contains the famous वेदान्त doctrine of the unreality of the phenomenal world, the ultimate reality being आत्मन् who pervades the whole world. The phenomenal world consists merely of modifications which have a beginning in name and are nothing if not आत्मन्.

This principle of the ultimate reality and unity behind manifold variety of the phenomenal world is illustrated by means of various examples drawn from every day life, and ultimately the principle that आत्मन् is the ultimate basis of and the reality behind the phenomenal world and that the individual soul is identical with this ultimate reality is endorsed in very definite terms.

It is interesting to note how here also the story element is utilized. But more interesting still is the method follow-

ed by the father to bring the teaching home to the pupil (his son). By a challenging question in the beginning the son is made conscious of his ignorance and thus a curiosity is roused in him as regards the principle to be taught. When the pupil requests to be instructed, a plain instruction is imparted to the effect that the originally existing सत् created तेजस्, which created आप:, which in their turn created अन्नम्; and that the original सत् entered all these as their soul after properly making them threefold. It is further shown that the psychological functions also can be reduced to the original three viz. heat, water and food on the one hand and deep sleep, death, hunger and thirst on the other. All this covers up the first ten sections which are not included in the present extract.

Of the six sections extracted here, the first three (i. e. 11-13) give respectively the illustrations of (i) a living tree, (ii) a seed of the banian fruit, and (iii) a salt lump put in water to show respectively that (i) the सत्, also called आत्मन् or ब्रह्मन्, alone lives and not the world which has emanated from it; (ii) that from the one undivided सत् the world with all its divisions has arisen; and (iii) that though imperceptible in the ordinary manner, the सत् does exist everywhere in the world. The last three sections contain parables of (i) a blind-folded person, (ii) a dying man, and (iii) an accused doing the fire ordeal respectively. These are intended to bring home to श्वेतकेतु three important principles viz. (i) the ordinarily imperceptible soul is perceived by an educated and intelligent person with the help of a worthy preceptor, (ii) at death all creatures become equally merged in the सत् or आत्मन्, and (iii) a person who adheres to the true i. e. the सत् or the ब्रह्मन् is finally liberated and is not required to be re-born; while the other who is devoted to the untrue i. e. the phenomenal world is compelled to return to the worldly life of misery.

Notes

P. 19, l. 1 यावज्जीवन् स्रवेत् It will give out juice or sap as long as (or if) it is alive i. e. until it is abandoned

completely by the life force. स्रवेत् is opposite of शुष्यति below. l. 2. मूले, मध्ये, and अग्रे The three parts are chosen to show that life-force pervades the whole tree. l. 3. अनुप्रभूत; vivified (by this life-force). पेपीयमान = अत्यर्थं पिबन्, frequentative present participle of √पा. l. 4. अस्य यदेकां etc. What is illustrated by positive examples is now illustrated negatively. As soon as the life-force deserts any part of the tree, that part dries up i. e. dies. Mark the inductive method, followed here, of drawing general conclusions on the basis of a number of particular cases, both positive as well as negative. This is also called the rule of अन्वयव्यतिरेक which is discussed in our Notes on the शाबरभाष्य passage below. Thus section I contains positive दृष्टान्तs, section 2, negative ones and the end of the second section brings in the general rule indirectly only to be stated in full in the 3rd and the last section. This arrangement of the sections easily reminds us of the last three अवयवs of न्याय syllogism. l. 6. एवमेव etc. This corresponds to the उपनय of the न्याय syllogism. l. 7. जीवापेतं etc. It is the phenomenal world i. e. things in it (इदम्) that die (i. e. cease to exist) when forsaken by जीव, and not the जीव itself. This जीव or आत्मन् is the ever-existing and ultimate reality behind the phenomenal world which is unreal.

The whole of the 1st section of this कण्डिका is in the form of a conversation between the teacher and the pupil. In this section again we are led from known to unknown. First the pupil is asked to go as far back as he can to the root of the existence of the big spreading banian tree until he comes to a point when he sees nothing. Then he is told that out of this nothing has sprung up such a huge tree. And lastly follows the application of this illustration to the big tree of the Universe which also, it is concluded, has come out of something which is infinitesimal and which is the soul of everything.

P. 20, l. 7. श्रद्धत्स्व Imperative 2nd sg. of श्रत् = √धा To put faith in. It may be observed that श्रद्धा or full faith in the words of the preceptor is generally accepted as a prerequisite for ज्ञान.

P. 20, l. 11. लवणमेतद् etc. Here again we have the conversational form. उपसीदथाः Irregular for उपसीदेथाः Potential 2nd sg. of उप + √सद्. The irregularity can be removed by dropping थाः. In all other places we find that the forms of the Imperative are used (cf. आहर, भिन्द्धि, आचाम). **l. 12** दोषा At night. अवाधाः Aorist 2nd sg. of अव + √धा 3U.

P. 21, l. 1. यथाविलीनमेव may be construed adverbially. 'Having (salt) dissolved in it as it is i. e. in that very condition'. Or यथा may be taken to mean यद्यपि. But this is not quite correct. **ll. 1–3.** अन्तात्, मध्यात् and अन्तात् cf. मूले, मध्ये and अग्रे above. The two अन्तs here are either the top and the bottom, or the two extremities of the vessel (which may be supposed to be rather shallow). This latter is better. **l. 4** अभिप्रास्य Absolutive of अभि + प्र + √अस to throw away. प्र + √अस् in the उपनिषत्s is used in the sense of 'throwing in or away' only, and not that of 'putting aside'. Cf. सैन्धवाखिल्य उदके प्रास्तः' बृहदा॰ ll. 4–12; and 'अग्नौ प्रास्ताहुतिः सम्यक्' मैत्री॰ VI. 37. It would not therefore, be in keeping with the Upaniṣadic usage to take अभिप्रास्य to mean 'Having put it aside (and allowed it to stand for a while so as to cause the salt to be deposited at the bottom)' as Dr. Belwalkar would take it. It is again doubtful whether salt would thus get deposited at the bottom by merely keeping the salt water aside for a while. *v. l.* अभिप्राश्य = आचम्य (शङ्कराचार्य), literally 'Having swallowed i. e. tasted it.' अभिप्रास्य is, of course, better; and must be translated 'Having thrown it out or away.' **l. 4.** तच्छश्वत् संवर्तते Dr. Belwalkar takes this as only a part of the narration and translates: 'It assuredly emerges again (as salt).' This is hardly satisfactory. For शश्वत् in the उपनिषत्s never means 'assuredly' Nor can संवर्तते be correctly rendered by 'emerges again'. The words have to be taken to convey the loud thinking of the son. He has upto now been observing the facts as they were being pointed out to him and naturally he is struck by the phenomenon of the persistence of salt in the water. इति is absent here possibly because these words are not actually addressed to the father. **l. 5.** अत्रैव किल etc. The point here emphasized is that salt exists in the water only; and yet it is not perceived. The same is the case with life-

force. It may be observed here that the illustration of salt again occurs in the next passage which is extracted from the बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद्. l. 10. गन्धारेभ्यः From गन्धार i. e. modern Kandahar. अभिनद्धाक्षः with eyes bandaged. अतिजने In an utterly lonely place. गन्धार and अतिजन very probably represent the two extremes of आर्यावर्त. Thus if a man from the extreme north is kidnapped blindfolded and thrown away into the desolate lands in the extreme south, he is bound to be bewildered and to bawl out for help in every direction; for he is quite a stranger to the land and as such quite in the dark as to the direction in which his home lies. l. 11. प्रध्मायीत Potential 3rd sg. of प्र + √ध्मा. The emendation प्रधावेत proposed Böhtlink is unnecessary. Nor can it be easily construed with the following sentence.

P. 22, l. 1. अभिनहनं Bandage; l. 3, आचार्यवान् पुरुषः The illustration emphasises two points (i) the man is utterly in the dark regarding his home-land, but has a keen desire for it, and (ii) he receives help from those who know it. As regards the उपनिषद्विद्या also (i) the pupil is required to be conscious of ignorance and desirous of securing the knowledge and (ii) he would secure the knowledge only through a good preceptor. Thus for the विद्या an आचार्य is absolutely necessary. l. 3f. यावन्न विमोक्ष्ये अथ संपत्स्ये—शङ्कराचार्य takes सम्पत्स्ये and विमोक्ष्ये as being equal to संपत्स्यते and विमोक्ष्यते respectively by पुरुषव्यत्यय. But as we have them, they are the forms of the second Future 1st sg. of सम् + √पद् and वि + √मुच् respectively. Max Müller follows शङ्कराचार्य in his explanation and remarks. 'The change from the 3rd to the 1st person is best explained by assuming that at the point where all individuality vanishes, the father as teacher identifies himself with the person of whom he is speaking.' He translates; For him there is only delay so long as he is not delivered from the body. Then he will be perfect.' Deussen takes तस्य to mean जगतः and gives a different explanation. Thus according to him 'तस्य तावदेव चिरं etc., is the object of वेद in the preceding sentence; and the whole would mean: "The man knows, 'I belong to this (world) only so long as I am not free from the body, thereafter I go

back to my home." This explanation has the advantage of requiring no पुरुषव्यत्यय that is resorted to in the other. But the explanation of तस्य as जगतः is not quite natural. We may perhaps take with Deussen the whole sentence as the object of वेद; but take तस्य to mean not जगतः but आचार्यवतः पुरुषस्य only. Thus the आचार्यवान् पुरुष knows 'तस्य तावदेव चिरं etc.' Here we see that the thought begins in the realm of multiplicity of the universe and hence the third personal pronoun तस्य. But at the end when the realisation has come up all multiplicity having merged into unity there remains only the 1st person, so that the realisation of the आचार्यवान् पुरुष could not but be in the 1st person. This should explain the occurrence of तस्य (3rd personal pronoun) and विमोक्ष्ये and सम्पत्स्ये (1st person) in one and the same sentence. l. **9.** उपतापिनं (उप + √तप्) A man on death-bed, seriously ill. पर्युपासते (परि = around + उप = near + आसते sit). ज्ञातयः Relatives. l. **12.** वाङ्मनसि etc. This refers to the natural state of things at the time of death when first there is the loss of speech, then there is the loss of consciousness and finally the loss of life. Here, it must be observed, वाक् stands not only for the power of speech but for all the sense organs. For a fine and full explanation of the whole process read शङ्कराचार्य's commentary.

P. 23, l. **1.** अथ य एषोऽणिमा etc. It must be noted that the 3rd section is the same word or word in all the कण्डिकाs, up to this. As has been already noted above the first and the sections in each of these कण्डिकाs contain the illustration which does take the pupil near the आदेश and make him think. The teaching itself is actually expressed in the 3rd section in identical words. And every time the son requests his father to explain the principle more fully which creates the necessity for a further illustration. ऐतदात्म्यम् Abstract noun (एष आत्मा यस्य तस्य भावः). इदं सर्वं This whole (universe). ऐतदात्म्यमिदं सर्वं All this (universe) is this self. This establishes complete identity between the universe and the self. The emendation ऐतदात्मकम् suggested by Bõhtlink would seem to distinguish between इदं सर्वं on the one hand and एषः who would be the आत्मा thereof on the other, though the teaching appears to be definitely monistic. l. **1.** तत्त्वमसि In accordance with the

preceding part, this should mean 'That thou art', and not 'His (servant) thou art', as the द्वैतिन्s would have it. l. 5. हस्तगृहीतं seized by the hand. अपहार्षीत् Aorist 3rd sg. of अप + √हृ with the augment dropped. l. 6. परशुमस्मै तपत etc. This is what in स्मृतिs is known as अग्निदिव्य. cf. याज्ञवल्क्य स्मृति II. 103–106. This illustration is meant to show the importance of truth; and further convey the idea that one who protects himself with truth; i. e. has fully realised the ultimate truth of the universe, no longer remains in bondage and suffering. l. 12. नादाह्येत = न आदाह्येत. *v. l.* ना दाह्येत (as two separate words). ना = Man. दाह्येत Irregular for दह्येत, l. 12. स यथा तत्र etc. Bōhtlink would drop this sentence altogether. As it is यथा shows that some point of similarity is intended to be conveyed. This may be stated by saying that just as the सत्याभिसन्ध person is not scalded because the fire is warded off by the covering of truth that he has wrapped himself in, similarly one, who covers himself with this teaching viz. ऐतदात्म्यं etc. and fully assimilates it, attains union with the highest self, because his false notions are dispelled by the knowledge of this truth. l. 13. विजज्ञाविति विजज्ञाविति Repetition marks the end of the अध्याय.

NO. 3.

The Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad : A General Note.

The last book of the शतपथब्राह्मण forms the आरण्यक and the six concluding chapters thereof are known as the बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद्. It is, as the name also suggests it, the longest उपनिषद् and in point of importance it is second to none. Like its compeer, the छान्दोग्योपनिषद्, it bears traces of being a composite work made up of three parts comprising two chapters each, and designated मधुकाण्ड, याज्ञवल्क्यकाण्ड, and खिलकाण्ड respectivly. The last, of course, must have been added afterwards as is also shown by the name it has. That the first two parts also were originally separate works is suggested by the fact that the legend of याज्ञवल्क्य and his two wives is found in both in almost identical words. A comparison of the successive lists of teachers given at the end of these parts also points to their separate existence for several generations till they were combined together by आग्निवेश्य, after whom the two lists coincide. A comparison of these lists with the list occurring in the last काण्ड again shows that they are entirely different from one another. And this is so because, as we are told in the उपनिषद् itself, the खिलकाण्ड contains a list of teachers who taught not only the उपनिषद् as the teachers in the other lists did, but the whole of the वाजसनेयि शाखा of the यजुर्वेद including the संहिता, the ब्राह्मण and the उपनिषद्. This also shows how in those days also teachers of the ritualistic tradition were different from those of the philosophical tradition.

Contents : Chapter I deals with आत्मन् as the root of all the world which for its very existence has to depend upon it only, and as the self of every individual. Chapter II discusses the nature of the आत्मन् and its manifestations, पुरुष and प्राण. The next two chapters consist of four philosophical discussions with याज्ञवल्क्य as the main speaker. In the first, covering the 3rd chapter, it has been shown that ब्रह्मन्, though theoretically unknowable, can yet be comprehended practi-

cally. The next discourse, a dialogue between king जनक and याज्ञवल्क्य, finally establishes that आत्मन् is अमृत, अशीर्य, असङ्ग and असित (IV. 1–2). The next two sections of the fourth chapter are covered by 'the third discussion' again a dialogue between जनक and याज्ञवल्क्य which speaks of the soul in various conditions such as the जाग्रत्, स्वप्न and सुषुप्ति, and stands unique in point of wealth of illustrations, fervour of conviction, and beauty and elevation of thought. The last discourse is a dialogue between याज्ञवल्क्य and his philosophically minded wife मैत्रेयी, again preaching the same view about आत्मन् and is in all probability a later redaction of the same conversation occurring in the fourth section of the second chapter. The second chapter of the खिलकाण्ड reads like an amplification of the corresponding portion of the छान्दोग्य and deals with the doctrine of transmigration. It bears great contrast to the views of याज्ञवल्क्य which only shows that this portion with the other allied portions before and after it (also found in the छान्दोग्य) must have been appended to this उपनिषद् later on owing to the importance of the subject matter dealt with in it.

General Note on Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad, VI. 2:—This section, on the back ground of a story, expounds the doctrine of the Five Fires and also the Doctrine of the Two Paths along with other philosophical and eschatalogical matters. It begins with the story of श्वेतकेतु आरुणेय who after completing his studies under his father went to जैवलि प्रवहण (King of the पाञ्चालs) who put him five questions. Finding himself unable to answer even one of them he returned to his father and told him the questions put to him by जैवलि. The father then went to जैवलि and became his pupil expressing his desire to know the answers to the questions put by him to his son.

The five questions are :—(1) How beings in this world go in different directions after departing this world? (2) How do they come to this world again? (3) How is it that that world is not filled up with these departed souls going there in large numbers? (4) On offering which oblation आपः become पुरुषवचस्? and (5) The प्रतिपत् of the देवयान

and the पितृयाण. The fourth of these questions is answered in the sections dealing with the Doctrine of the Five Fires while the last two sections dealing with the two paths—the देवयान and the पितृयाण—contain answers to the remaining questions either directly or indirectly.

The Doctrine of the Five Fires preached by जैवलि can be presented in a tabular form as follows :—

अग्नि	समिध्	धूम	अर्चिः	अङ्गाराः	विस्फुलिङ्गाः	आहुति	फल
असौ लोकः	आदित्य	रश्मयः	अहः	दिशः	प्रतिदिशेः	श्रद्धा	सोमो राजा
पर्जन्य	संवत्सर	अभ्राणि	विद्युत्	अशनि	ह्रादुसयः	सोम	वृष्टिः
अयं लोकः	पृथिवी	अग्नि	रात्रिः	चन्द्रमाः	नक्षत्राणि	वृष्टि	अन्नम्
पुरुषः	व्यात्तम्	प्राणः	वाक्	चक्षुः	श्रोत्रम्	अन्नम्	रेतः
योषा	उपस्थ	लोमानि	योनिः	यदन्तः	अभिनन्दाः	रेतः	पुरुषः
करोमिते							

From the table above it can be seen that the result derived from each of the आहुतिs becomes the आहुति for the next अग्नि. Thus it is clear that the first आहुति viz. श्रद्धा itself becomes सोमो राजा, वृष्टिः, अन्नम्, रेतः and finally पुरुष. And when it is remembered that श्रद्धा is only another name for आपः, we know that आपः are turned into पुरुष (cf. आपः पुरुषवचसो भवन्ति ।). It is also clear from the table that this happens when the fifth आहुति (viz. रेतः) is offered into the fifth fire (viz. योषा); and thus we get the answer to the fourth of the five questions asked by जैवलि.

The next कण्डिका, in a like manner, speaks of the disposal of the mortal coils of a departed पुरुष and thus introduces the problem of life after death which forms the main point of the fifth question.

The Doctrine of paths :—The last two कण्डिकाs describe the two paths called देवयान and पितृयाण with all the stations on them and at the same time tell us who can travel along with them; and the section ends with a mention of the fate of those who know neither of these two paths.

The देवयान or the Path of the Gods. This is open to those who repair to the forest (i. e. take to renunciation) and have recourse to श्रद्धा and सत्य. The stations they cross along this

path are अर्चिः, अहः, आपूर्णमाणपक्ष, उदगयन, देवलोक, आदित्य वैद्युत, लोक. From here they are led further to ब्रह्मलोक, by a मानस पुरुष; and there they live for ever and ever without any return.

The पितृयाण *or the Path of the Fathers :* This path is open to those who have recourse to यज्ञ, दान and तपस्, (i.e. by those who follow the कर्ममार्ग). On their way they have धूम, रात्रिः, अपक्षीयमाणपक्षः, दक्षिणायन, पितृलोक, चन्द्रलोक. Having reached चन्द्रलोक they are consumed by the gods. On their return journey they start with आकाश and passing through the वायु, वृष्टि, पृथिवि, they become अन्न which is offered into पुरुषाग्नि, turns into रेतस् which in its turn, when offered into योषाग्नि, becomes पुरुष in this world. This is how these persons go on moving round and round.

Those however, who do not know either of these paths, are born as कीट, पतङ्ग, दन्दशूक and such small insects.

It may be observed that this lore-पञ्चाग्निविद्या as it is generally called-occurs more or less in identifical language with a few variations in three different works : (i) the शतपथ ब्राह्मण 14. 9. 1. 12–16, (ii) the छान्दोग्य उपनिषत् 5. 4–9.; and (iii) the बृहदारण्यक उपनिषत् (extracted here). A comparison of these passages will show that the बृ. उ. passage is the latest among these.

This विद्या, though preached by a king (i.e. a क्षत्रिय) appears yet to be deeply saturated with the Brahmanical idea of sacrifice. Thus we see that the main point of this विद्या is the conception of almost everything in this universe as sacrifice. It is also interesting to note how the Doctrine of Paths, serves as a complement to this Doctrine, showing as it does the journey of the departed soul and his return station by station; when viewed together these two Doctrines remind us of the यज्ञचक्र started by प्रजापति (referred to in the भ. गी.) which has got to be kept going on.

As for the Doctrine of the two paths it may be observed that it is found given in almost identical expressions and details (with a few variation) in v. 5. 3–10. The names देवयान and पितृयाण are as old as the ऋग्वेद, though the idea of the various stations along these paths and the under current of

the systems of कर्ममार्ग and ज्ञानमार्ग which are found as the basis of these paths as seen in the बृ० उप० extract here is certainly a later development. The भगवद्गीता also speaks of the two श्रुतिs which bear a great similarity to the paths of the उपनिषत्s. Some scholars on the basis of some difference in details in the भ० गीता on the one hand and the उपनिषत्s on the other, hold that the paths in the उपनिषत्s are different from the श्रुतिs of the भगवद्गीता. This view, however, can't be accepted in the view of the vast numbers of details which are found to be common to both.

Notes

P. 24, l. 1. आरुणेयः आरुणेः अपत्यं पुमान् son of आरुणि; his name is श्वेतकेतु. **पञ्चालानां परिषदम्** to the assembly of the पञ्चालs. In ancient India young scholars on completion of their studies went out to prominent places and assemblies to establish their reputation. This is what श्वेतकेतु has done here. l. **3.** जैवलि जीवलस्य अपत्यं पुमान् son is जीवल; his name is प्रवाहण उद्वीक्ष्य Abs. of उद् + √ईक्ष् 1A. **अभ्युवाद** Perf. 3rd sg. of अभि + √वद 1P. Addressed. कुमारा ३ This is another instance of प्लुति, for which see Notes on P. above. l. **4.** भो ३ An instance of प्लुति. **प्रतिशुश्राव** Perf. 3rd sg. of प्रति + √श्रु 5 P. Note that प्रति + √श्रु in classical Sanskrit means 'to promise'. Here, however, it simply means 'to reply, to say in reply.' On the significance of these questions and replies read 'भर्त्सनार्था प्लुतिः।' and भो ३ इति अप्रतिरूपमपि क्षत्रियं प्रति उक्तवान् क्रुद्धःसन्।' (शं०). **अनुशिष्टः** p. p. p. of अनु + √शास् 2P. taught, educated. **ओम्**–yes'. l. **5.** वेत्थ etc. This is first question put by प्रवाहण to श्वेतकेतु. **प्रजाः** (from प्र + √जन् 4A) Creatures, created beings. **प्रयत्यः** Nom. plr. of प्रयती (f. of प्रयत्) Pr. Part. of प्र + √इ 2P. to depart, die. म्रियमाणाः विप्रतिपद्यन्ता ३ इति the प्लुति here says शंकराचार्य is विचारणार्था. विप्रतिपद्यन्ते. Go in different directions. l. **7.** वेत्थो = वेत्थः उ. **उ.** is only an expletive. This is प्रवाहण's second question to श्वेतकेतु. l. **9.** वेत्थो etc. This is the third question. **असौ लोकः** that world, the yonder world, as contrasted with **इमं लोकम्** This world (in l. 7) above. संपूर्यते Pr. 3rd sg. of सम् + पॄ (Pass.) is fitted.

P. 25, l. 2. वेत्थो this is the fourth question of प्रवाहणं to श्वेतकेतु. **यतिथ्यां** = यत्संख्याकायाम्. **पुरुषवाचः भूत्वा** has been explained

in two different ways; (i) पुरुषस्थः या वाक् सैव यासां वाक् ताः i. e. those who have the वाक् (speech or power of speech) of पुरुष; and (ii) पुरुषशब्दवाच्याः i. e. those who have the word पुरुष (to denote them). Now it must be noted that आपः can become पुरुषवाचः (in either of the above two senses) only when they attain a human form. cf. यदा पुरुषाकारपरिणताः तदा पुरुषवाचो भवन्ति (शं०) समुत्थाय वदन्ति = सम्यगुत्थाय उद्भूताः सत्यः वदन्ति (शं०) l. 5. वेत्थो etc. This is the fifth and last question that जैवलि put to श्वेतकेतु. प्रतिपदम् This is explained by जैवलि himself in the words यत्कृत्वा etc. Thus प्रतिपद् (f.) would appear to mean an act or action by doing which one attains (the देवयान or the पितृयाण). प्रति + √पद् 4A means to reach, attain. The noun प्रतिपद् means 'A means of reaching or attaining'. देवयान and पितृयाण are explained below, l. 7 f. द्वे सृती etc. This appears to be an old Vedic verse speaking of the two paths open to mortals. The names of these सृतीs are पितृणा श्रुतिः and देवानां श्रुतिः (corresponding to the names पितृयाण and देवयान respectively). ताभ्याम् By these (i. e. श्रुतिs or paths.) एजत् Pr. Part. of एज् 1P. To move. एजत् = moving. इदं विश्वम् This is explained further by यदन्तरा पितरं मातरं च (= what stands between the father and the mother.) The पिता and the माता here are द्यौः and पृथिवी respectively. Thus the whole clause means: what stands between these two i. e. what is on this earth or in this world. शंकराचार्य notes that the पिता and the माता are द्यावापृथिव्यौ and quotes the passage 'इयं वै माता असौ पिता'. He further declares that these two श्रुतिs described as taking place between the पिता and the माता pertain to संसार only and do not ultimately lead to final beatitude. cf. अण्डकपालयोर्मध्ये संसारविषये एव एते श्रुती, न आत्यन्तिकामृतत्वगमनाय।. About these two sections we must note two important points: (i) The (implied) pride of श्वेतकेतु at the thought of his vast and full knowledge; (ii) The humbling of his pride by प्रवाहण who with the five questions brought home to him his utter ignorance. Such consciousness of one's ignorance is an important prerequisite of all learning l. 10. अथ Then i. e. after thus shattering his sense of pride (cf. अथ अनन्तरम् अपनीय विद्याभिमानगर्वम्) वसत्या = वसतिप्रयोजनेन, वसत्यर्थम्. अनादृत्य (न + आदृत्य Abs. of आ + √दृ). l. 11. नः us. The use of plural for himself by श्वेतकेतु shows that his pride is not yet fully gone. नः अनुशिष्टान् अवोचः = वयम् अनुशिष्टाः इति अवोचः।

l. **12**. अवोचः for 2nd sg. of √वच् 2P. Here we should have अवोचत् (3rd person) in stead of अवोचः (2nd person) in views of the expression भवान् occurring in this sentence. सुमेधः Voc. sg. of सुमेधस् (शोभना मेधा यस्य इति) Talented one राजन्यबन्धुः = (राजन्या बन्धवो यस्य इति) who has राजन्यs (क्षत्रियs) as his relatives क्षत्रिय only in name, unworthy क्षत्रिय. (cf. ब्रह्मबन्धु or ब्राह्मणब्रुवः). श्वेतकेतु calls जैवलि like this simply to show his disregard for him. l. **13** प्रतीकानि = (प्रश्नानां) मुखानि i. e. the word at the beginning of these questions.

P. 26, l. 2. प्रतीत्य Abs. of प्रति + √इ 2P. Returning, going back (there i. e. to जैवलि), ब्रह्मचर्यं वत्स्यावः Let us remain as disciples, let us lead a student's life (of course, to learn new matters.) गौतमः This is the name of श्वेतकेतु's father, According to शंकराचार्य it is only the गोत्र name. प्रवहणस्य जैवलेरास This has been explained in two different ways : (i) यत्र प्रवहणस्य जैवलेः आस आसनम् आस्थायिका, i. e. where was the seat or the dwelling of प्रवहण जैवालि or (ii) यत्र प्रवहणस्य जैवलेः (षष्ठीद्वयं प्रथमास्थाने) प्रवहणः जैवलिः आस i. e. where प्रवहण जैवलि was. In fomer, The expression आस has to be understood to signify आसन or आस्थायिका; while in the latter the षष्ठी in प्रवहणस्य जैवलेः is to be understood in the sense of प्रथमा. This irregularity is unavoidable. But such irregularities are quite common in Vedic literature. l. **6**. प्रतिज्ञातः Promised. Before stating what he desires to choose, गौतम makes sure that जैवलि has promised him a boon. यां तु etc. गौतम, as we already know, has gone to जैवलि just to know the answers to the five questions asked by him to his son. Naturally, therefore, he requests him to disclose them to him. l. **8**. दैवेषु etc. This is a usual phenomenon in the उपनिषत्s. The teacher generally refuses to impart instruction to any one at the first request. He tries to test the sincerity of the person or the disciple and then only begins imparting his particular विद्या. By-the-bye it may be noted that such unwillingness to impart instructions on the part of the teacher is also useful in rousing the curiosity and interest of the pupil....दैव and मानुष जैवलि states those matters (i. e. Those asked by गौतम) are divine. i. e. they pertain to the other world or life after death; and asked him to choose some वर pertaining to this world. l. **9**. अपात्त P. P. P. of अप + आ + √दा 3U. हिरण्यस्य

अपात्तम् I have enough of gold आपाप्तम् = प्राप्तम् is to be construed with all the genitivies that follow. हिरण्य, गोअश्वs etc. represent the earthly riches. But, as the उपनिषत्s very often declare, all this is of no use for the attainment of अमृतत्व l. 10. **मा नो भवान्** etc. Here गौतम is requesting जैवलि not to be miserly and thus refuse to impart instructions to him. **अवदान्यः** = अदाता **बहोः अनन्तस्य अपर्याप्तस्य** of the vast, endless and unlimited (stock of knowledge). अपर्याप्त according to शंकराचार्य means अपरिसमाप्तिक i. e. पुत्रपौत्रादि गामिक. The idea of गौतम here has been put in easy language by शं॰ as follows : **मा भूत् नः** अस्मान् अभि (i. e. अस्मानेव केवलान् प्रति) भवान् सर्वत्र वदान्यो भूत्वा, अवदान्यो मा भूत् कदर्यो मा भूत् इत्यर्थः l. 11. **तीर्थेन** In the proper manner as laid down by the शास्त्र. (cf. तीर्थेन = न्यायेन शास्त्रविहितेन) **इच्छासे** subj. 2nd sg. of इष् 6P. **उपैमि** I approach you (as a pupil). **वाचा** etc. जैवलि has asked गौतम to seek विद्या from him in the proper manner i. e. by becoming a regular disciple of his. गौतम has, therefore, declared in this sentence that he has accepted his शिष्यत्व, saying that such was the ancient practice.

P. 27, l. 1. **उपायनकीर्त्या** By the declaration (कीर्ति from कृत्) of his उपायन (i. e. approaching जैवलि as his pupil). l. 2ff **तथा नस्त्वं** etc. From this statement of जैवलि it appears that this विद्या upto his day had been a monopoly of the क्षत्रियs and that no ब्राह्मण knew it till then. In fact a casual reader of the उपनिषद्s finds that the higher or philosophical matters originated among the क्षत्रिय circles and was adopted by the ब्राह्मणs only at a later stage. But, as जैवलि seems to say, the क्षत्रियs were not responsible for his absence of विद्या among the ब्राह्मणs. Read शंकर's commentary यथा इयं विद्या त्वया प्रार्थिता इतः त्वत्संप्रश्नात्पूर्वं प्राक् न कस्मिन्नापि ब्राह्मणे उवास उषितवती, तथा त्वमपि जानीषे। सर्वदा क्षत्रियपरम्परया इयं विद्या आगता। सा स्थितिः मयापि रक्षणीया; यदि शक्यते इति उक्तम्, 'दैवेषु वै गौतम तद्वरेषु मानुषाणां ब्रूहि' इति। न पुनः तव अदेयो वर इति। इतः परं न शक्यते रक्षितुम्। तामपि विद्यामहं तुभ्यं वक्ष्यामि।

l. 4. **प्रत्याख्यातुम्** inf. of प्रति + आ + √ख्या 2P. To refuse.

Sections 9–13 contain the पञ्चाग्निविद्या the main idea of which can very well be gathered from the table in the introduction to this extract. From these sections it will be clear that sacrifice was the dominating idea of the day so much

so that the evolution of man out of the original आपः or श्रद्धा also had to be represented as a series of sacrificial activities. The idea (or rather the metaphor) of sacrifice is carried to its full length and we are told how in these cases also we find all the other accessories that are generally found at an ordinary sacrifice. It may further be observed that आपः (श्रद्धा), सोम, वृष्टिः, अन्नम्, रेतः and पुरुष are the stages of this evolution, so that now at the end of these sections we get the answer to the fourth question of जैवलि प्रवाहण. आपः become पुरुषवस् on the offering of the fifth oblation. This question is answered first because the answers to the other questions depend on the answers to this only. (cf. चतुर्थः प्रश्नः प्राथम्येन निर्णीयते। क्रमभङ्गस्तु एतन्निर्णयायत्तत्वादितरप्रश्ननिर्णयस्य। शं॰).

P. 27, l. 5. असौ लोकः = द्युलोकः; द्युलोके अग्निदृष्टिर्विधीयते। Similarly in the following sections अग्निदृष्टि is enjoined with reference to पर्जन्यः, अयं लोकः, पुरुषः and योषा respectively. **समित्** (समिन्धनात्), आदित्य is called समित् of असौ लोकः conceived as fire, because that लोक is kindled or brightened up by आदित्य. **धूमः** Smoke. रश्मिs (rays) are called धूम because they arise from the आदित्य, just as धूम arises from समित्. **अर्चिः** light, flame. cf. (अर्चिः प्रकाशसामान्यात्). **अङ्गाराः** charcoal. The दिशः are so called because आदित्य is extinguished in the दिशः as fire in the charcoal. **विस्फुलिङ्ग** spark. अवान्तर दिशा are scattered like विस्फुलिङ्गs and hence they are so called here. In this way we have to see why the several factors in connection with पर्जन्य and others are called समित् etc. in this metaphorical description. It may be noted that Sections 12 and 13 dealing with पुरुष and योषित् as अग्नि and giving the last two stages of evolution of आपः into man have been omitted. But unless they are taken into account it will not be possible to realise the answer to the fourth question of जैवलि. We have, therefore, included them in the table given above.

Section 14 The last five sections dealing with the पञ्चाग्निविद्या have shown how man is born in this world. Now section 14 deals with man's death and departure from this world conceived as sacrifice again, and thus form a sort of connecting link between the last five sections and the two sections that follow.

Sections 15-16 These two sections deal with the life of departed souls. On death when the corpse is consigned to fire, there arises a भास्वरवर्णः पुरुषः and this पुरुष, we are told will, according to what he has done during the life-time on this earth, follow either the पितृयाण or the देवयाण. If, however, he is qualified to follow, neither of these two paths, he will be born as कीट, मशक etc.

P. 28, l. 5. य एवमेतद् विदुः etc. This section clearly tells us that only those, who know the पञ्चाग्निविद्या described in the preceding sections and repair to the forest to practise श्रद्धा and सत्य, are entitled to follow this path—the path of the gods as it is called. **l. 6.** अर्चिषोऽहः etc. The various stations along this path are अर्चिः, अहः, आपूर्यमाणपक्ष, उदगयन, देवलोक, आदित्य, (लोक), वैद्युत (लोक), and from there they are further led to ब्रह्मलोक from where there is no return. These stations are not to be understood literally as signifying the काल of the देश. They should be taken as standing for the superintending deities of the various things mentioned. For those who follow the देवयान there is no return to this migratory existence. It could thus appear that according to this section मोक्ष can be attained only by those who repair to the forest and practise श्रद्धा and तप.

Section 16 This section deals with the other path—the पितृयाण—which can be followed by those who practise यज्ञ, दान and तपस्. Thus it appears that पितृयाण and देवयान were the paths which the कर्ममार्गिन्s and the ज्ञानमार्गिन्s were destined and entitled to follow. The stations on this पितृयाण are धूम, रात्रि, अपक्षीयमाण पक्ष, दक्षिणायन, पितृलोक, and चन्द्र. On reaching चन्द्र, they as food are consumed by the gods and are born in this world again through various stages which have been enumerated in the latter half of this section. Thus the followers of कर्ममार्ग, on the strength of their deeds, go up to चन्द्रलोक and on the consumption of the फल come down to this world again to perform further actions and again go up to चन्द्र. The followers of कर्ममार्ग are, therefore, bound to remain revolving like this, while the followers of the ज्ञानमार्ग get out of this cycle.

P. 29 l. 5. पुरुषाग्नौ and योपाग्नि पुरुष (man) and योषा (woman) conceived as fire. These form the subject-matter of sections 12 and 13 which have not been included in the extract here. l. 6. अथ य एनौ In these words we are made aware of the fate of those who know neither of these two paths. Here would appear to lie the root of the general belief that only man can do or undo things for his future. The soul in the other योनिs has merely to undergo suffering. For man alone can think and hence understand properly these paths.

No. 4

Kauṭilīya Artha-śāstra : A General Note.

The publication of the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya for the first time in 1908 by Dr. R. Shamshastri opened a new avenue for scholars working in the field of Sanskrit literature; and varied, instead, have been the problems that have been discussed in connection with this work, including even the name (or rather the spelling of the name) of the author. Some Sanskrit writers like हेमचन्द्र and the commentators of the कामन्दकीय नीतिसार give the name of the author of the अर्थशास्त्र as कौटल्य and not as कौटिल्य. Manuscript evidence also is said to favour the same name. Some scholars, therefore, contend that the real name of the author of the अर्थशास्त्र is कौटल्य which, they say, is to be derived from कुटल which is the name of a गोत्रर्षि. कौटल्य thus means 'one who belongs to the कुटल गोत्र'. It must, however, be noted that the name कौटिल्य also is very ancient and is referred to and explained as such by विशाखदत्त in his मुद्राराक्षस. It is quite probable that the original name was कौटल्य and that it was later on transformed into कौटिल्य owing to the crooked policy advocated in the work, the transformation being facilitated by the great similarity between the two. (cf. Samuel and Samel.).

The traditional view regarding the authorship and date of this work is that Cāṇakya alias विष्णुगुप्त, (also called कौटिल्य owing to the crooked and unscrupulous policy advocated by him in politics) in a vindictive mood uprooted the ruling नन्द dynasty, placed चन्द्रगुप्त मौर्य on the throne in 321 B. C., became his minister and composed the अर्थशास्त्र for his guidance. There are in the अर्थशास्त्र itself some passages which support this view. But several European scholars think the traditional view to be unjustified. The passages supporting to traditional view are, according to these scholars, interpolations. The contents of the book show that it is the work of a Pundit rather than that of a practical politician. The reference to the views of कौटिल्य with the expression इति कौटिल्यः show the

author to be different from कौटिल्य. The very historicity of कौटिल्य is again called into question by the fact that neither Megasthenes nor the Purāṇas seem to know such an author. The mention of mercury in the अर्थशास्त्र shows that it can't be dated before the beginning of Christian era. For these reasons it is contended that very probably the अर्थशास्त्र is a composite work and that it was probably composed in the third century A. D.

A careful reading of the views held by कौटिल्य on judicial administration, however, reveals that he is much later than आपस्तम्ब and गौतम, but certainly earlier than the मनुस्मृति and also that of याज्ञवल्क्य. Since कामन्दक and तन्त्राख्यायिका speak of him with high approval it can be safely concluded that he must have flourished before 200 A. D. The upper limit for his date, however, cannot be fixed with any certainty in the absence of any conclusive data. कौटिल्य exhibits a close acquaintance with a vast field of literature including वेदs, वेदाङ्गs, इतिहासपुराण, धर्मशास्त्र, अर्थशास्त्र, सांख्य, याग and चार्वाक systems, and works on astronomy, metallurgy and medicine. He, however, does not seem to know the present महाभारत; and though holding some views resembling those of वात्स्यायन's कामसूत्र, he holds many more, deffering from him. He also exhibits a wide knowledge of geography of the whole of the भरतवर्ष. From a reference in the अर्थशास्त्र it would appear that it was composed at a time when Buddhism had not yet become quite popular. The fact that अर्थशास्त्र gives स्कन्द as one of the tutelary deities at the gates of the royal fort appear to favour the traditional view regarding the authorship and the date of the अर्थशास्त्र, for we know from the महाभाष्य of पतञ्जलि that स्कन्द was one of the deities actually worshipped by the मौर्यs.

The points raised by the European scholars hold no water for they are either subjective or negative and hence inconclusive. On the other hand there is the fact that the अर्थशास्त्र has at least one verse which is found in one of भास's plays, and also that the general political theory as depicted by भास agrees very well with that of the work of कौटिल्य which shows that कौटिल्य must be placed nearer to भास who has been now generally placed in the fourth century B. C.

The exact significance of the name अर्थशास्त्र has been explained by कौटिल्य himself in the concluding chapter of his work as follows:—मनुष्याणां वृत्तिरर्थः; मनुष्यवती भूमिरित्यर्थः। तस्याः पृथिव्या लाभपालनोपायः शास्त्रमर्थशास्त्रमिति। Thus it may be said that अर्थशास्त्र is a work composed by a ब्राह्मण named चाणक्य alias विष्णुगुप्त (also known as कौटिल्य), dealing with the means of acquisition and preservation of territory. This work, as the author himself tells us lays under contribution almost all the work of the predecessors on the subject.

But when we come to consider the style of the work we find the author declaring that he has composed both the सूत्रs as well as the भाष्य. From this it would appear that the work is in the form सूत्रs and a commentary thereon. According to the commentators the headings of the various chapters are the सूत्रs and the contents of the chapter themselves are the भाष्य. But this can hardly be true. On the other hand we often find कौटिल्य making a particular statement first and then expounding the same in full details. The statement in such cases may be said to be the सूत्र and the explanation that follows can answer the title of भाष्य to some extent. According to Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar the work was originally all metrical and then it was only later on about the fourth century A.D. that it was given its present सूत्र and भाष्य form without any changes in the subject-matter. In the present text of the अर्थशास्त्र we do come across several verses which more often than not are only meant to recapitulate the content of a section or a chapter; but we also find, at the same time, some short सूत्र like sentences followed by explanatory paragraphs resembling भाष्य. Hardly, therefore, can it be said to be a सूत्र work in the sense in which the कल्पसूत्रs, or the अष्टाध्यायी, or the मीमांसासूत्रs are so called. In point of style, the अर्थशास्त्र may be compared to some extent to the आश्वलायनगृह्यसूत्र. It must, however, be noted that the stanza, which speaks of the अर्थशास्त्र being in the form of सूत्रs and भाष्य thereon, is itself of doubtful authenticity since in all Mss. and editions it occurs even after the final colophon of the work.

The work is written in a simple, direct and lucid style; and does not aim at brevity at the cost of perspicuity. In

general it resembles the धर्मशास्त्रs of गौतम and हारीत; and has fewer archaisms than that of आपस्तम्ब. As a general rule it conforms to the rules of पाणिनि. It is but natural that as a technical work it should contain several words and expressions which are highly technical and as such unusual. In it we also come across several other expressions and words which are very rarely met with elsewhere; and which have a peculiar sense in the अर्थशास्त्र. The अर्थशास्त्र may be said to have a vocabulary of its own; and as such while trying to interpret any word or sentence in the अर्थशास्त्र one should be guided not so much by any external (much less later) authorities as by the अर्थशास्त्र itself.

In its present form the अर्थशास्त्र has a twofold division, one into प्रकरणs and the other into अध्यायs, numbering 180 and 150 respectivly. The division into प्रकरणs is said to be not only more natural, but also more original as it has been referred to in an introductory remark in the work where the division into अध्यायs finds no mention. The प्रकरणs and the अध्यायs are overlapping, so that sometimes an अध्याय contains more प्रकरणs than one, while in some other places the case is just the reverse. It may, however, be noted that the end of every अध्याय is marked by several verses, mostly in the अनुष्टुभ् metre, which sum up the subject-matter discussed in the body of the अध्याय. Dr. Keith believes that this अध्याय division and also the verse marking the end of the अध्यायs are only secondary. But it must be noted that the division into अध्यायs also is actually referred to in verse occurring at the end of the first अध्याय. It is not unlikely that कौटिल्य himself introduced this अध्याय division also, thus dividing the whole work or its अधिकरणs into such smaller divisions as would form suitable units for study. (The word अध्याय is derived from अधि + √इ which means 'to study'). This also would explain the peculiar phenomenon of some अध्यायs covering several प्रकरणs in some cases, where the प्रकरणs are rather too short, and of some प्रकरणs covering several अध्यायs in others when the प्रकरणs are rather too long. The length of प्रकरणs was obviously determined by the subject-matter and therefore would certainly vary according to the subject-matter. The length of the अध्यायs however, must have been

determined by considerations of study and would, therefore, be uniform as a general rule, every अध्याय forming a 'Lesson' as such to be covered up in a particular period, possibly a day. These smaller divisions are again grouped into bigger sections called अधिकरणs which are fifteen in number. We are also told that the total extent of the work is 6000 श्लोकs which, of course, must be taken to mean a unit of 32 syllables only. Even a casual perusal of the titles of the several प्रकरणs and अधिकरणs is enough to give an idea of the exhaustiveness of the work, the careful arrangement of the topic, and also the unity of design so much so that the reader can hardly help feeling that the अर्थशास्त्र must be the work of a single brilliant mind.

Notes

P. 30 जनपदनिवेशः This is the title of the opening chapter of the second अधिकरण of कौटिल्य's अर्थशास्त्र. It has been explained by गणपतिशास्त्री as 'जनः चतुर्वर्णाश्रमजातिलक्षणः, तस्य पदं स्थानं स्थानीय-द्रोणमुख-कार्वटिक-संग्रह-ग्रामादिकं, तस्य निवेशः रचना अत्राभिधीयत इति सूत्रार्थः ।'. From the summary given above it will be seen how this title is quite significant. l. 1 **भूतपूर्वं** etc. It may be observed that the **जनपद** to be formed may be quite new (अभूतपूर्व) or may be an old one fallen in ruins (भूतपूर्व) which may be brought under development. **परदेशापवाहनेन** etc. *Kauṭilya* suggests two ways of जनपदनिवेशः (i) Bringing people from other lands. We read in history and inscriptions how sometimes Brāhmaṇas and other people were invited by kings and others to stay in their territories and how lands were assigned to them. (ii) Taking surphus population of one's own land. This is generally how colonies are formed. l. 2 **शूद्रकर्षकप्रायं** may be understood to mean (i) mostly consisting of cultivators of the Śūdra caste or (ii) mostly consisting of Sūdras and cultivators. In either case it may be observed that Kauṭilya attaches importance to the condition that majority of the inhabitants of the जनपद must be cultivators. It will be seen below that Kauṭilya recommends that lands may be taken away from those who do not till them themselves and be given away to the actual tillers. He also has suggested ways and means to get people interested in tilling the land for themselves and also in bringing more and more land under

cultivation. These ideas are not the less intriguing even today after a lapse of about two thousand years. कुलशतावरं etc. These two expressions lay down the maximum and the minimum number of families for a village. Thus a village may have from a hundred to five hundred families. क्रोशद्वि-क्रोशसीमानं lays down the extent or the space limit for a village. It may extend from one krośa to two. A krośa is generally taken to signify two miles. In the chapter on देशकालमान, Kauṭilya defines गोरुत as equal to 2000 bows and योजन as equal to four गोरुतs. It may be noted that क्रोश is the same as गोरुत according to गणपति शास्त्री. Curiously enough Kauṭilya does not define a क्रोश, nor does he use the term anywhere else. गणपतिशास्त्री interprets this expression to mean that a ग्राम may be so situated as to be at a distance of a क्रोश or two from one another. cf. क्रोशद्विक्रोशसीमानं क्रोशसीमान द्विक्रोशसीमानं वा एकस्माद् ग्रामाद् ग्रामान्तरस्य क्रोशदूरव्यवधानं क्रोशद्वयव्यवधानं वा यथा भवेत् तथा क्लृप्तमित्यर्थः।. The former appears to be more natural since thereby we come to know the actual extent of the ग्राम while the latter tells us only of the distance separating one village from another. As a matter of fact, however, villages are contiguous so much so that the question of the distance separating two neighbouring ग्रामs from one another does not arise at all. This is enough to show the futility of the latter interpretation of the expression क्रोशद्विक्रोशसीमानम् given by गणपतिशास्त्री. l. 3. अन्योन्यारक्षम्—अन्योन्यमारक्षतीति (गण०) नदीशैलवन etc. It may be interesting to note that मनु also has directed that सीमाs shall be marked by several trees like शाल्मली, शमी, and क्षीरिणः पादपाः or by thickets, tanks, temples etc. among other things. The main point to be observed in fixing up the सीमाs is that the सीमाचिह्न must not be likely to be destroyed easily. cf. यानि चैवंप्रकाराणि कालाद्भूमिर्न भक्षयेत्। तानि संधिषु सीमायामप्रकाशानि कारयेत् मनु० VIII. 251. गृष्टि This word occurs only once in the अर्थशास्त्र and has been explained by गणपतिशास्त्री to mean a tree named बदरी. सेतुबन्ध Dr. Shama Shastri translates this expression as 'artificial buildings.' But in several places Kauṭilya has used the word सेतु (or सेतुबन्ध) to signify a reservoir of water. He has also stated that the सेतु may either have a natural supply of water or an artificial one. From this it may be clear that a सेतुबन्ध is not merely an artificial building but a

reservoir of water specially constructed. For other places where the expression सेतु or सेतुबन्ध occurs cf. सहोदकमाहार्योदकं वा सेतुं बन्धयेत् (**P. 31**, l. **11** below); सेतुबन्धयोरप्याहार्योदकात् सहोदकः श्रेयान्। (अर्थ० p. 299. 2); सेतुबन्धः सस्यानां योनिः। (अर्थ० 307. 4). उदकधारणं सेतुं भिन्दतस्तत्रैवाप्सु निमज्जनम्। अनुदकमुत्तमः साहसदण्डः। भग्नोत्सृष्टकं मध्यमः। (अर्थ० 229. 18 f.); अहं वः सेतुः, मयि विभिन्ने सर्वानेष प्लवोराजा प्लावयिष्यति। (अर्थ० 388. 9). From these quotations it will be sufficiently clear that सेतु means a construction which is to be built up (√बन्ध्), is filled with water naturally or artificially, is useful for crop as supplying water and that its breaking would result in a deluge. सेतुबन्ध should, therefore, mean an erected (i.e. artificial) reservoir of water. l. **4** क्षीरवृक्ष Trees giving out milk-like sap, such as the वट, the उदुम्बर etc. These are long lived and hence suitable for marking the boundaries ll. **4 f.** अष्टशतग्राम्या etc. This sentence gives us four different technical, names which Kauṭilya uses to signify bigger divisions of land comprising 10, 200, 400 or 800 ग्रामs. This system corresponds to some extent to the present day system of division of land into Peṭa, Mahal, Taluka, District and so on. It may be noted that अमरकोश knows only of स्थानीय which is explained as तिष्ठन्ति अस्मिन् इति by क्षीरस्वामिन् who appears to quote our passage when he writes अष्टशतग्रामीमध्ये स्थानीयम्. Neither क्षीरस्वामिन् nor अमर, however, show any awareness of the other expressions viz. द्रोणमुख, खार्वटिक and संग्रहण occurring here. Just as we to-day have a name for the whole district and the same again for the town which is known as the district-place similarly in ancient India also names must have been common to the whole division as such and also the important place in that division. This is possibly what as meant by the statement that a स्थानीय is to be situated in i.e. for every अष्टशतग्रामी, and so on. l. **6** अन्त Frontiers. अन्तपालदुर्ग Frontier fortress. These appear to have been at the same time the entrances (द्वाराणि) to the जनपद, and were under the care of an officer called अन्तपाल.

l. **8**. अन्तराणि space between the अन्तपालदुर्गs. These were to be guarded by several forest tribes. वागुरिक (वागुरया मृगबन्धनरज्ज्वा चरतीति) A fowler. शबर, पुलिन्द and चण्डाल here signify only different wild tribes. अरण्यचराः Foresters. This is a general

term while the first three are specific kinds or tribes of the अरण्यचरs.

P. 31, l. 1. ऋत्विगाचार्य etc. ऋत्विज् (ऋतौ यजतीति) This word is formed according to the सूत्र ' ऋत्विग्दधृक्स्रग्दिगुष्णिगञ्चुयुजिक्रुञ्चां च। (अष्टा० III. 2. 59) एभ्यः क्विन् स्यात्। अलाक्षणिकमपि किंचित् कार्यं निपातनाल्लभ्यते। (भट्टोजी). This is a particular class of priest who was to be in company with the king along आचार्य and पुरोहित and bestow blessings on him in the 8th नाडिका of the night (i. e. about day-break). It was also the duty of the ऋत्विक् to see that the sacrificial acts are completed. (cf. ऋत्विजः कर्म समापय्य दक्षिणां हरेयुः p. 186) ; and also do several other ceremonies and religious rites for or on behalf of the king. आचार्य Preceptor in the वेदs cf. उपनीय तु यः शिष्यं वेदमध्यापयेद् द्विज; सकल्पं सरहस्यं च तमाचार्यं प्रचक्षते॥ मनु० III. 140. यास्क derives the word as 'आचारं ग्राहयति आचिनोत्यर्थान् आचिनोति बुद्धिमिति वा।' निरुक्त I. 4. The qualifications of a पुरोहित have been given by कौटिल्य as follows :— पुरोहितमुदितोदितकुलशीलं षडङ्गे वेदे दैवे निमित्ते दण्डनीत्यां चाभिविनीतमापदां दैवमानुषीणामथर्वभिरुपायैश्च प्रतिकर्तारं कुर्वीत। (अर्थशास्त्र p. 15 f.). श्रोत्रिय (formed according to 'श्रोत्रियश्छन्दोऽधीते' अष्टा० V. 2. 84). A learned ब्राह्मण. In the days of कौटिल्य श्रोत्रियs were held in very high esteem and enjoyed special privileges. In various places has कौटिल्य directed that the belongings of a श्रोत्रिय should not be touched by राजपुरुषs and others. They also had the special privilege of carrying away भक्तलवण (which in the case of the other persons was considered a crime) cf. अर्थशास्त्र. p. 191, 161, 242, 144, etc. ब्रह्मदेय A piece of land gifted to learned ब्राह्मणs. These ब्रह्मदेयs were exempt from दण्ड (fines) and कर (levies or taxes), and at the same time such as would yield good crop. **l. 2** अध्यक्ष For the convenience of administration कौटिल्य has devised several departments with a superintendent for each who is, of course, responsible to the King. The whole of the second book of the अर्थशास्त्र deals with these various अध्यक्षs and their duties and reponsibilities in full details. संख्यायक is a junior officer who is to help the अध्यक्षs and who himself is helped, in the capacity of spies, by several persons. (cf. तस्मादस्याध्यक्षाः संख्यायकलेखकरूपदर्शकनीवीग्राहकोत्तराध्यक्षसखाः कर्माणि कुर्युः। उत्तराध्यक्षाः हस्त्यश्वरथारोहास्तेषामन्तेवासिनः शिल्पशौचयुक्ताः संख्यायकादीनामपसर्पाः। अर्थ० p. 69). By आदि in this expression we should take लेखकरूपक etc. occurring in the

quotation above. गोप appears to be another junior officer who was to look to five or ten villages as directed by समाहर्ता (p. 142), and as an assistant to the नागरक; he was to have full information about ten, twentry or forty families as regards the caste, name, गोत्र, activities, numbers and income and expenditure. (अर्थ॰ p. 144). स्थानिक is an officer who was to look to the quarter of the दुर्ग and collect full information about it like the गोप described above. (cf. एवं दुर्गचतुर्भागं स्थानिकश्चिन्तयेत्। अर्थ॰ p. 144). अनीकस्थ is explained as हस्तिचिकित्सक **l. 3.** चिकित्सक A physician. अश्वदमक A horse-trainer. जङ्घारिक. गणपतिशास्त्री reads जङ्घाकरिक and explains it as जाङ्घिको दूरदेशगतागतजीवी. He thus appears to be a courier, or a runner. क्षीरस्वामिन् explains it as जङ्घे एव करो राजदेयोंऽशोऽस्य इति जङ्घाकरिकः. This expression occurs nowhere else in the अर्थशास्त्र and has to be understood as done by गणपतिशास्त्रिन्. Very likely जङ्घारिक (as we have it) is only a misreading for जङ्घाकरिका (the क being dropped by the scribe through aberration of the eye). विक्रयाधानवर्जम् Without the right to sell or mortgage i. e. personal use only; cf. मूल्यमादाय दानं विक्रयः आधिकरणमाधानं तदुभयानं तदुभयाधिकास्वर्जं केवलोपभोगार्येत्यर्थः। गणपतिशास्त्रिन्! करदs Those who pay the taxes (कर). कृत = cultivated. Even today we use the idiom शेत करणें in मराठी. l. **4.** ऐकपुरुषिकाणि i. e. एकेनैव ग्रहीतृ पुरुषण भोग्यानि (गणपतिशास्त्रिन्) Probably we have to contrast this with the preceding. क्षेत्रs bestowed on ऋत्विगाचार्यादिs were to be hereditary while those bestowed on करदs were for one generation only. कर्तृ cultivator. आदेयात् Benedictive 3rd sg. of आ + दा. अकृतानि etc. It is striking to see how कौटिल्य about two thousand years ago has expressed views regarding distribution of land which have not yet become antiquated and puerile. l. **5.** वैदेहक (विदेहे उपचये भव:) A merchant ग्रामभृतक A village worker. l. ^. अपहीन damage, loss. धान्यपशुहिरण्य etc. Here we see how कौटिल्य has suggested ways and means calculated to improve the condition of agriculture in general. अनु should be connected with दद्युः and should mean 'later on' or 'back'. सुखेन according to their convenience. l. **7.** अनुग्रहपरिहारौ Gifts and remissions. The expression परिहार has been explained by कौटिल्य in the शासनाधिकार as a writ of remission announcing the special favours that the king confers on particular cases or particular lands or under

particular circumstances. (cf. जातेर्विशेषेषु परेषु चैव ग्रामेषु देशेषु च तेषु तेषु अनुग्रहो यो नृपतेर्निदेशात् तज्ज्ञः परीहार इति व्यवस्येत। p. 73).The expression generally is used to signify 'remission or concession' in general;. For use of परिहार in this sense cf. नाविकसार्थवाहेभ्यश्च परिहारमायतिक्षमं दद्यात्। p. 98; नवस्तु राजा स्वधर्मानुग्रहपरिहारादानमानकर्मभिः प्रकृतिरञ्जनोपकारैश्चरति। p. 326; स्वधर्माकर्मानुग्रपरिहारदानमानकर्मभिश्च प्रकृतिप्रियंहितान्यनुवर्तेत p. 408; तटाकसेतुबन्धानां नवप्रवर्तने पञ्चवार्षिकः परिहारः। p. 170. The main principles behind this परिहार would appear to be कोशवृद्धि or आयति, प्रकृतिरञ्जन, incentive to useful work. परिहार was allowed to new settlers at the time of the new settlement or as they came and settled in that place; and was often given for a stipulated period. गणपतिशास्त्रिन् explains अनुग्रह and परिहार as gifts bestowed on people for the enhancement of well being by itself or by removing adversity or calamity. (cf. स्वस्थवृध्द्यर्थं दायमानं द्रव्यमनुग्रहः दौःस्थ्यपरिहारेण स्वास्थ्यसिध्द्यर्थं दीयमान द्रव्यं परिहारः।). l. **9.** **निवृत्तपरिहारान्** This is explained by गणपतिशास्त्रिन् as प्रत्यर्पितपरिहारद्रव्यान्. This, however, does not seem to be correct. We have already seen that परिहार is meant for restoring स्वास्थ्य by removing दौःस्थ्य. This shows that परिहार will be given only until this purpose is served. This in other words means that there is a time limit to the परिहार after which it will be stopped. It is this stopping of परिहार that is referred to by the expression निवृत्त (नि + वृत् to stop). निवृत्तपरिहारान् should, therefore, be understood as signifying 'persons whose (period of) remission is over.' Thus what कौटिल्य means to say is that the King should take care of the people not only during difficult days by allowing परिहार etc. but also in better times when परिहार is stopped. (For निवृत्त in a similar sense cf. निवृत्तवृद्धिक = which has ceased to fetch interest). l. **10.** कमान्त in the अर्थशास्त्र seems to signify factories. There are कर्मान्तs for लोह and such other minerals. In one place two types of कर्मान्त are referred to viz. सारकर्मान्त and फल्गुकर्मान्त (P. 220). आकरकर्मान्त, therefore, means factories for minerals. There is a whole chapter in अर्थशास्त्र devoted to the administration of आकरकर्मान्तs (अर्थशास्त्र II 12). द्रव्यहस्तिवन = द्रव्यवन i. e. forest for द्रव्य (= timber) and हस्तिवन i. e. elephant forest. व्रजवणिक्पथप्रचार = व्रजप्रचार and वणिक्पथप्रचार. For गणपतिशास्त्रिन्'s explanation of these terms read : आकरकर्मान्तः आकरव्यापारस्थानं, द्रव्यवनं दारुचन्दननिर्यासाद्युपकरणप्रसवक्षमं वनं, हस्तिवनं गजवनं, व्रजप्रचारः गोध्यक्ष, वक्ष्यमाणः, वणिक्पथप्रचारः वणिक्पथव्यापारः In अर्थशास्त्र II 6 कौटिल्य

counts वनव्रज, and वणिक्पथ as some of the items of income (आयशरीर). There he has explained these expressions as:— पशुमृगद्रव्यहस्तिवनपरिग्रहो वनम्। गोमहिषमजाविकं खरोष्ट्रामश्वाश्वतराश्च व्रजः। स्थलपथो वारिपथश्च वणिक्पथः। वारिस्थलपथपण्यपत्तनानि Market places or towns (पण्यपत्तन) reached by land and water routes. गणपतिशास्त्रिन् proposes alternative explanations for which read: पत्तनशब्दस्थ क्रयक्रियस्थानवाचित्वमाश्रित्येत्थं व्याख्यातम्। नाविकगम्यपुरवाचित्वाश्रयणे तु पण्यपत्तनं पण्यप्रधानं नौमात्रगम्यं पुरमिति व्याख्येयम्। पट्टनशब्दपाठे पुनः पण्यप्रधान पट्टनं शकटैरश्वैर्नौभिश्च गम्यं पुरमित्यर्थः, पट्टनं शकटैर्गम्यं घोटकैर्नौभिरेव च इति यादवाभिधानात्. P. 32, l. 1 पुण्यस्थानारामाणां च we have to complete this sentence by supplying अनुग्रहं कुर्यात् from the preceding sentence. Such elliptical sentences are a common phenomenon in the अर्थशास्त्र l. 2. सम्भूयसेतुबन्ध means a सेतुबन्ध undertaken by the people in a group. In such cases all inhabitants of that particular place were expected to collaborate. But sometimes for some reason or another some person or persons would not be able to offer their help personally. Such persons were allowed the option of sending their men or bullocks to work on their behalf. व्ययकर्मणि etc. They were also to share the expenses; but they had no share in the profits derived from the work. l. 3. मत्स्यहरित etc. According to अर्थशास्त्र सेतु is one of the items of incomes of the King. There सेतु is defined as पुष्पफलवाटषण्डकेदारमूलवापाः सेतुः।. Here कौटिल्य is stating the various articles connected with the सेतु which are a state property. प्लव A ferry (तर in मराठी). हरितपण्य green merchandise i. e. vegetables etc. गणपतिशास्त्रिन् explains प्लवाः as कारण्डवाः जलजलजविहारिणः and हरितानि as पद्मोत्पलकशेरुकादीनि and understands all these viz. मत्स्य, प्लव and हरित as पण्य i. e. commodity for sale or merchandise.

l. 5. दासाहितक etc. The sense of this sentence depends on the interpretation of the expression अश्रृण्वतः which can be construed with दासाहितकबन्धून् the object of विनयं ग्राहयेत्. Or अश्रृण्वतः may be construed independently as the object of विनयं ग्राहयेत् and दासाहितकबन्धून् may be taken as the object of अश्रृण्वतः. In that case we shall have to take this expression as an adjec tive used as a substantive according to वामन's dictum. Thus the sentence could mean according to the former construction: 'The King should bring to book दास etc. if they do not obey (the master etc.)' as we have done it in the translation.

According to the second construction the sense would be: The King should bring to book persons who do not listen, to (i. e. do not care for the well-being of) दास etc. गणपतिशास्त्रिन् reads अननुशृण्वतः and adopts the former interpretation. The latter interpretation, though grammatically possible, does not yet appear to be supported by the context. आहितक persons who are made subservient on the basis of money, hireling. (cf. स्वामिना धनग्रहणेनाधितां नीता गणपतिशास्त्रिन्). l. 6 व्यसनिन्. In one place कौटिल्य has told us about of seven व्यसन्s, three arising from कोपं and four out of काम. Besides these there are other व्यसनs peculiar to नृपति etc. But the above mentioned seven are common to all and are designated पुरुषव्यसनs. अविद्याविनय is said to be the common cause of all the seven cf. अविद्याविनयः पुरुषव्यसनहेतुः। अविनीतो हि व्यसनदोषान् न पश्यति। तानुपदेक्ष्यामः कोपजस्त्रिवर्गः कामजश्चतुर्वर्गः। वाक्पारुष्यमर्थदूषणं दण्डपारुष्यमिति (कोपजस्त्रिवर्गः)। कामजस्तु मृगया द्यूतं स्त्रियः पानमिति चतुर्वर्गः। अर्थ० p. 327 f). अप्रजाता has been explained as वन्ध्या. But कौटिल्य has used this word side by side with वन्ध्या, which goes against this explanation. In the अर्थशास्त्र, it appears to mean a lady (or a female) who has not yet delivered even once, as opposed to प्रजाता i. e. one who has delivered once or more. Thus it appears that it was the duty of the King to afford protection to all such persons as would generally be in need thereof. l. 7 बालद्रव्यं etc. A comparison with मनु० VIII would show that we should read वर्धयेयुः rather than वर्जयेयुः। For there is little point in saying that the ग्रामवृद्धाः should set apart and not handle or avoid the property belonging to a minor. On the contrary it is but natural that in the interest of the state at large every piece of property in it is properly enriched and cared for. And when the owner is a minor, naturally enough the lack of doing so is devolved by कौटिल्य upon the ग्रामवृद्धाः Again आ व्यवहार प्राप्तणात् also favours वर्धयेयुः. For it sets the limit for the action enjoined by वर्धयेयुः or वर्जयेयुः and means that after that they may not do so. Now it is right to say that the ग्रा. may not enhance the property of a बाल after he attains majority. But again to say that they may not avoid it after that would mean allowing them to handle it any way they like after the child has attained majority. Such license, however, could hardly have been intended even by कौटिल्य! l. 8 अपत्यदारं etc. All the

accusatives up to विधवाश्च are to be construed as objects of अबिभ्रतः which itself is gen. sg. of अबिभ्रत् (अ + बिभ्रत् Pr. Part. of √भृ.) भ्रातृन् अप्राप्तव्यवहारान् Brothers who have not attained majority. भगिनीः कन्या विधवाश्च Dr. शा॰ has taken this to mean 'sisters and widowed daughters'. This, however, is hardly correct कन्या विधवाश्च are both ad. of भगिनीः So what कौ॰ lays down is that one should look to one's sisters unmarried or widowed, just as one is to take care of his brothers who are अप्राप्तव्यवहार. कन्या here does not mean a daughter. Daughters have been included in the expression अपत्य in अपत्यदारं. Here then we get an idea of the extent of a family unit so far as the inmates of it are concerned. A family beside the man, his wife and children, will have his parents, minor brothers, unmarried and widowed sisters. And it was incumbent on man to feed all these, as far as possible on pain of being fined. l. **9** अन्यत्र पतितेभ्यः This lays down an exception. A man may refuse to feed these if they are पतित or apostate. But अन्यत्र मातुः lays down a counter—exception starting that the exception applies to all except the mother who, of course has to be fed even if she be a पतित. शाम॰ construes अन्यत्र पतितेभ्यः with शक्तिमतः. But this is hardly correct. l. **10.** अप्रतिविधाय Abs. of प्रति + वि + √धा (to provide for the maintenance of) with the negative particle न prefixed to it. It means: without providing for. प्रव्राजयतः Gen. sg. of प्रव्राजयत् Pr. part. of प्र + √व्रज् (causal). Who forces a woman to turn recluse. l. **11.** आवृश्च्य Abs. of आ + √व्रश्च्. V. L. आपृच्छ्य Abs. of आ + √प्रच्छ्. This latter means taking permission from, with the consent of the धर्मस्थs i. e. officers in charge of law and allied matters. With the former we should read धर्मस्वान् and translate 'Having disposed of i. e. distributed one's rightly (earned) property'. गणप॰ prefers आपृच्छ्य while शा॰ reads आवृश्च्य, noting the variant in the foot-note. In his पदसूचि, however, he notes only धर्मस्थान् and has dropped धर्मस्वान् altogether. This would show that later on he also has given up the reading adopted by him in his text.

P. 33 l. 1ff वानप्रस्थादन्यः etc. In what follows कौटिल्य has stated what things or types of persons should not be there in a जनपद and what matters and circumstances should be procured or provided for. It is very interesting to note how very

carefully कौटिल्य has thought out these datails which may be found interesting as well as instructive even today. l. 4 निराश्रयत्वात् etc. कौटिल्य holds that a जनपद् can be richer day by day in कोश etc. only if the inhabitants thereof ara क्षेत्राभिरत (devoted to cultivation of their क्षेत्रs) and this, according to him, is possible if the ग्रामs are devoid of resting places such as pleasure gardens. कौटिल्य had very well realised the value of hard work or labour as the means to enhancement of riches. l. 6 परचक्राटवी etc. Note the various factors mentioned by कौटिल्य in this stanza. These mar the prosperity and progress of a जनपद् and hence are to be scrupulously avoided. l. 8 दण्डविष्टि etc. दण्ड (fine), विष्टी (forced free labour) and कर (Tax) are, according to कौटिल्य, the three great drags on कृषि. The truth of this view of कौटिल्य is observed even today and attempts are now being made to improve the lot of the cultivator in the hope that improvement in his lot would naturally lead to improvement in cultivation itself and thus would come up the betterment of the land as a whole. l. 9 स्तेनव्याल etc. In this line कौटिल्य has stated the various factors which would adversly affect the पशुव्रजs and hence have to be avoided.

P. 34 l. 1f वल्लभैः etc. This stanza states the factors which are detrimental to the progress of वणिक्पथ and exhorts the king to see that they do not hamper the progress of वणिक्पथ in any way. l. 3 f. एवं etc. In this stanza कौटिल्य has advised the king to afford protection to old द्रव्य द्विपवन etc. which form items of income to him and are the basis of a prosperous kingdom ; and has also exhorted him to add fresh द्रव्य द्विपवन etc. to his राज्य or भूमि. From all these statements now one can realise how deeply कौटिल्य has thought over the matters that he has dealt with and how the ideas and views expressed by him are even after a lapse of two thousand years not yet quite out of date.

4 B

P. 34 l. 9 प्रकृतिसम्पदः The expression प्रकृति here stands for the seven अङ्गs of the state viz. the King, the ministers, the country, the fort, treasury, army and friends. For the prosperity of a state it is absolutely necessary that it should have

all its members in good order. On the perfection of these all depends the perfection and prosperity of the state. It is, therefore, necessary that one should know and have a cler idea of these members and the qualities which make them perfect. This is the subject-matter of the first अध्याय of the sixth अधिकरण of कौटिल्य's अर्थशास्त्र. In a later अधिकरण, कौटिल्य has devoted several अध्यायs to discussion of the व्यसनs (calamities) of all these and their comparative gravity. सम्पद् Peafection For a detailed discussion of all these seven अङ्गs of state read Dr. Kane's History cf Dharmaşāstra, Vol. III, pp. 1-241. l. 10 स्वाम्यमात्य etc. This sentence gives us the names of the seven अङ्गs of the state. At the end of this chapter कौटिल्य has dealt with अमित्रs also. This possibly lies at the root of the variant reading °मित्रामित्राणि noted by Dr. शामशास्त्री in his edition in a foot-note But अमित्र can hardly be said to form an अङ्ग of a state and hence can have no place legitimately in a sentence enumerating the प्रकृतिs or अङ्गs of a state. कौटिल्य in a canclud-ing stanza states that the प्रकृतिs are सप्त (seven). स्वामिम् Ruler, King कौटिल्य has dealt with the education, duties, responsi-bilities etc. of a prince in the first अधिकरण (the विनयाधिकारिकम्). Here he is stating the qualities of an ideal ruler. l. 11. महाकुलीनः etc. This sentence states what are called आभिगामिकाः गुणाः which are sixteen in number. दैवबुद्धिसत्त्वसंपन्नः Dr. शामशास्त्री reads दैवबुद्धिः सत्त्वसम्पन्नः and translates 'godly, possessed of valour.' गणपतिशास्त्री reads the whole as one पद् and explains it as possessed of (सम्पन्न) good fortune, (दैव), intellect (बुद्धि) and firmness or prowess (सत्त्व). There is hardly any thing in the अर्थशास्त्र to favour Dr. शामशास्त्री's interpretation. For though कौटिल्य uses the expression दैव several times, nowhere does he seem to use it in the sense of 'godly'. It rather means 'super-human.' कौटिल्य does, however, mention twofold calamities (viz. दैव and मानुष) and also कर्मs, and states that दैव कर्म is अदृष्टकारित and अचिन्त्य. This suggests that कौटिल्य did to some extent believe in दैव or fate. If this is right, we may better agree with गणपतिशास्त्रिन् in reading the above expression as one पद् and accept his interpretation. For it would then mean that a King should have not only बुद्धि and सत्त्व but also दैव. वृद्धदर्शी This perhaps is synonymous with वृद्धसेवी used by कौटिल्य elsewhere.

In an earlier chapter कौटिल्य has declared that a prince should always be in contact with वृद्धs [cf. अस्य नित्यश्च विद्यावृद्धसंयोगो विनयवृद्ध्यर्थं तन्मूलत्वाद् विनयस्य । P. 10; also cf. वृद्धसंयोगेन प्रज्ञां (कुर्वीत) ।' P. 12]. l. 12 अविसंवादकः = वचनकर्मणो स्तुल्यार्थः (गणपतिशास्त्रिन्). स्थूललक्षः Having high aim, ambitions; महेच्छो महादाता च । (गण०) महोत्साहः कौटिल्य defines उत्साहशक्ति as विक्रमबल (see P. 261). This shows that he uses उत्साह as a synonym of विक्रम. महोत्साह, therefore, means महाविक्रमः . अदीर्घसूत्रः क्षीरस्वामिन् explains the word दीर्घसूत्र as दीर्घं चिरेण सुवति सूत्रयते व दीर्घसूत्रः । and अमर gives चिरक्रियः as its synonym. अदीर्घसूत्र, therefore, means क्षिप्रकारी.

P. 35. l. 1. शक्यसामन्तः सामन्त is to be derived from समन्त (adjoining or neighbouring land or territory) and means a neighbouring king. शक्यसामन्त, therefore, means whose सामन्तs are possible (to control) i. e. who is capable of controlling his neighbouring kings अक्षुद्रपरिषत्कः Having not a negligible or mean assembly. परिषद् is the same as मन्त्रिपरिषद् whose number varies between twelve and twenty according to different authorities quoted by कौटिल्य. No definite number has however, been laid down by him ; though in one place he has stated that इन्द्रs परिषद् consisted of a thousand मन्त्रिन्s from which we got his name सहस्राक्ष (cf. मन्त्रिपरिषदं द्वादशामात्यान् कुर्वीतेति मानवाः । षोडशेति बार्हस्पत्याः । विंशतिमित्यौशनसाः । यथा सामर्थ्यमिति कौटिल्य इति । (अर्थ० P. 428) also cf. इन्द्रस्य हि मन्त्रिपरिषद् ऋषीणां सहस्रम् तच्चक्षुः । तस्मादिमं द्व्यक्षं सहस्राक्षमाहुः । (अर्थ. P. 29). विनयकामः कौटिल्य has devoted the whole of the first अधिकरण to विनय which is a very wide term covering every type of education that a king should be equipped with. It may be translated by ' discipline ' in a very wide sense. विनयकाम means one who is desirous of having विनय proper training or discipline. l. 2 शुश्रूषा श्रवण etc. Here are given the qualities of (प्रज्ञागुणाः). In an earlier प्रकरण, कौटिल्य has declared that a king may be well-disciplined through विद्या, only if he fixes his attention on शुश्रूषा, श्रवण, ग्रहण, धारण, विज्ञान, ऊह, अपोह and तत्त्वाभिनिवेश. In fact these are the various steps by which intellect ripens. Hence they are said to be प्रज्ञागुणs, श्रवण and ग्रहण refer to शब्दज्ञान and अर्थज्ञान respectively. धारण Retention (अविस्मरणम्) ऊह and अपोह stand for (अनुकूल) तर्क and setting aside (of the incorrect

views or ideas.) [cf. ऊहः ज्ञातस्यार्थस्यो पपत्तिपरिचिन्तनम् . अपोहो दुष्टपक्षपरित्यागः । गण०] शौर्यममर्षः etc. उत्साह has been already explained above as विक्रम. दाक्ष्यम् has been explained by गण० as लङ्घनप्लवनादिनैपुण्यम्. (on what authority it is not clear). I. 3. वाग्मी = प्रशस्ता वागस्त्यस्य इति । This word is formed by adding ग्मिनि (= मिन्) to वाच् according to 'वाचो ग्मिनिः' (अष्टा० V. 2,124). The sense of the word is very nicely set out in the proverbial line. अल्पाक्षररमणीयं सुनिश्चितं वदति यः स खलु वाग्मी ।' स्मृतिमतिबलवान्–स्मृति is defined as अनुभूतविषयासंप्रमोषः स्मृतिः । (योगसूत्र I. 8) and means remembering things or matters previously experienced. Thus स्मृतिः has a reference to the past (cf. स्मृतिः अतीतविषया धीः) and is thus distinguished from मति which, though धीः, has a reference to the future (मतिः आगामिगोचरा धीः। गण०) उदग्रः = (उर्ध्वम् अग्रम् अस्य) is a synonym of तुङ्ग (high) and is to be understood here as signifying 'magnanimous'. I. 4. स्ववग्रहः–This occurs in an earlier chapter as a qualification of an अमात्य. (अर्थ० P. 15), and seems to mean 'who can be easily (सु) restrained from evil deeds (अव + √ ग्रह्). कृतशिल्पः Well-trained in शिल्प, which in the अर्थशास्त्र appears to signify 'an art' in general. व्यसने दण्डनायी = आत्मनो व्यसनावसरे स्वसैन्यं रक्षिता (गण०) उपकारापकारयो etc. Able to offer an effective (दृष्ट) retaliation (प्रतिकार) for good or bad done to him by others, cf. प्रसादे यस्य पद्मास्ते विजयश्च पराक्रमे । मृत्युश्च वसति क्रोधे etc. where we are told how effective a king's प्रसाद, पराक्रम and कोप are ! Even कौटिल्य has expressed similar views about a king. cf. एकदेशं दहेदग्निः शरीरं वा परं गतः । सपुत्रदारं राजातु घातयेद्वर्धयेत वा ॥ अर्थ. P. 251. गणपतिशास्त्रिन्, however, offers a different explanation of दृष्ट in this expression. He takes दृष्ट to mean शास्त्रदृष्ट (as enjoined by the शास्त्र) cf. उपकारापकारयोर्दृष्टप्रतिकारी शास्त्रदृष्टप्रतिकारविधायी । (गण०) I. 5. आपत्प्रकृत्योः i. e. in adversity (आपद्) as well as in the normal circumstances (प्रकृति). गणपतिशास्त्रिन् proposes an alternative explanation taking the word प्रकृति to mean प्रजा. cf. आपदि प्रजायां च धान्यादिविनियोक्ता. The former, however, appears to be better because आपद् and प्रकृति according to the explanation cover up all kinds of circumstances. Implying thereby that the king is to do his duty in adverse as well as normal circumstancse. गणपतिशास्त्रिन् adopting this explanation

brings out the implication therein by remarking = (धान्यादिकं) सुभिक्षे संचित्य दुर्भिक्षे विनियोक्ता देशकालः etc. देशकालोचितं देश पुरुषकारयुक्तं च कार्यं प्रधानं यस्य असौ. शामशास्त्री reads प्रदानः and translates 'ready to avail himself of opportunities when afforded in respect of place, time and manly efforts.' It is, however, difficult to understand how he gets this sense of 'ready to avail himself' out of the expession प्रदान at the end of this compound expression. प्रदान means gift and the whole expression may be interpreted to mean : who bestows (i. e. spends by giving gifts etc.) on valourous deeds at the proper time and place. सन्धिविक्रम etc. विभागी at the end of the expression means well-versed in (cf. विभागो विविच्य ज्ञानं तद्वान्--गण०) and is to be connected with each member of this remaining portion of the expression which is a द्वन्द्व compound. This is to be done according to the rule : द्वन्द्वान्ते श्रूयमाणं पदं प्रत्येकमभिसंबध्यते । संधि and विक्रम are two expedients to be used in dealing with other kings. सन्धि is defined by कौटिल्य as 'that which is conducive to mutual faith among kings' (cf. शमः सन्धि समाधिरित्येकोऽर्थः । राज्ञो विश्वासोपगमः शमः सन्धिः समाधिरिति । (P. 313.) विक्रम means expedition or war, and is said to be of three different types viz. open war, treacherous war and silent war. (cf. विक्रमस्य प्रकाशयुद्धं कूटयुद्ध तूष्णींयुद्धमिति। P. 280). As for their employment कौटिल्य remarks लाभसाम्ये सन्धिः । वैषम्यै विक्रमः । (P. 279). त्याग Giving away, gift, surrendering (of a part of territory) cf. भूम्येकदेशत्यागेन देशप्रकृतिरक्षणम्। P.271; अतुष्टान् तुष्टिहेतोः त्यागेन साम्ना च प्रसादयेत्। P. 23. संयम = control i. e. checking or overpowering by force, subjugation. पण appears to mean a condition, an agreement. कौटिल्य often speaks of देश or काल or even persons as being परिपणित i. e. agreed. Even सन्धि is of two varieties परिपणित and अपरिपणित (P. 279). पण here appears to be the same as पणकर्म used by कौटिल्य in the following verse : तथेति प्रतिपन्नास्तान् संहितान् पणकर्मणा। योजयेत यथाशक्ति सापसर्पान् स्वकर्मसु। (P. 26). परच्छिद्र The weak-point of the anemy; (cf. सन्धिविश्वासेन परच्छिद्रमासाद्य प्रहरेदित्यपरिपणितः (P. 280), शामशास्त्री seems to construe त्याग with संधि and विक्रम and takes it to mean 'cessation or abandonment.' He thus understands the whole expression construing विभागी with सन्धिविक्रमत्याग, संयम, पण and परच्छिद्र. This construction and

interpretation of त्याग, however, is not supported by कौटिल्य's usage. गण० explains the whole expression by construing विभागी with each of the preceding words as we have done. But he differs in the interpretation of संयमपण which he takes as one word, संयमपणविभागी according to him means 'Expert in enriching his coffers without troubling the subjects'. (प्रजानुपपीड्या गूढकोशाभिसंहरणप्रवीण:). But this also does not find any support from कौटिल्य's own usage. संयम and पण, we have already explained above. The words have been so used by कौटिल्य in several places. But nowhere do we find the expression संयमपण used as one word in the अर्थशास्त्र. l. 6 संवृत: Well-covered. कौटिल्य often uses the expression संवरण in the sense of pretext i. e. concealment of the real state of thing). This expression has been used by कालिदास : cf. तस्य संवृतमन्त्रस्य गूढाकारेङ्गितस्य च । फलानुमेया प्रारम्भाः संस्काराः प्राक्तना इव ॥ रघु० ॥ 1. 20. This stanza very well brings out the sense of the words संवृत in our expression here. शामशास्त्री reads संवृतादीना० etc. as one expression and translates making jokes with no loss of dignity or secreey. But the construction of संवृत like this is against कौटिल्यs usage. For कौटिल्य never uses it in the sense of 'secrecy.' It is better to take संवृत: separately. Even कौटिल्य has used the expressions संवृत and असंवृत as qualifying a (विजिगीषु) monarch, cf. कृत्स्ने च मण्डले नित्यं दूतान् गूढांश्च वासयेत् । मित्रभूतः सपत्नानां हत्वा हत्वा च संवृतः ॥ असंवृतस्य कार्याणि प्राप्तान्यपि विशेषतः । निःसंशयं विपद्यन्ते भिन्नप्लव इवोदधौ ॥ (P. 305) अदीनाभिहासी This expression can be understood in two different ways according to the construction we put on the expression अदीन. (i) अदीनं (दैन्यराहितम् = with no loss of diginity) यथा स्यात् तथा अभिहासी (अभिहासशीलः = making jokes)-शामशास्त्री (ii) दीनान् अभिहसितुं शीलम् अस्य दीनाभिहासी ; न दीनाभिहासी ।-गण० गणपतिशास्त्री also notes the other interpretation in the words गभीरहासी वा । अजिह्मभ्रुकुटीक्षण: whose brows and eyes are not wrinkled or frowning (अवक्रसौम्यवीक्षण:). 1. 7 कामक्रोध etc. In an earlier chapter कौटिल्य has told us that a King should achieve इन्द्रियजय (control over or conquest of senses) by abandoning the six vices viz. काम, क्रोध, लोभ, मान, मद and हर्ष. The present expression closely agrees with this list. The first three are identical; while for the last three we get here *four* viz. स्तम्भ (which is almost synonymous with मान,) चापल, उपताप and पैशुन्य. चापल

(the same as चापल्य used by कौ० on P. 15) means thoughtlessness, rashness (अविवेकिता). This is how गण० explains चापलम् here. शाम०, however, translates it as 'fickleness' which is also not bad, for it bears a good contrast to स्तम्भ which just precedes it in the presentexpression. उपताप = (i) प्रजाद्रोह = गण० (ii) haste (शाम०). The expression occurs nowhere else in the अर्थशास्त्र. But in two places we find the expression उपतप्त which there means : 'overpowered or fatigued by'. cf. क्षयव्यय-प्रवासोपतप्ते वा अस्य मित्रवर्गे etc. (p. 309) ; क्षयव्ययाभ्यां प्रवासेन चोपतप्तम्. It is, therefore likely, that उपताप should mean the fatigue or languidity or depression (caused particularly by क्षय, व्यय, or प्रवास). शक्यस्मितो० This is translated by शाम० as talking to others with a smiling face. But, this translation fails to do justice to शक्य and उदग्र in this expression, गण० on the other hand reads शक्ः (instead of शक्य) as a separate word and explains it as प्रियंवद. But it is not clear on what authority he adopts this reading, nor do we find the word शक्ः anywhere in the अर्थशास्त्र. We have, however, in the अर्थशास्त्र the compound expression शक्यभव्यकल्यारम्भी which means शक्यारम्भी, भव्यारम्भी and कल्यारम्भी (p. 287). On this analogy our present expression viz. शक्यस्मितोदग्राभिभाषी may be explained as शक्याभिभाषीः स्मिताभिभाषी and उदग्राभिभाषी (or स्मितोदग्राभिभाषी if स्मितोदग्र is taken to mean स्मितपूर्व.) शक्याभिभाषी means speaking of matters which are possible i. e. what he can actually do. This idea very well agrees with what कालिदास says about the रघुs in the रघुवंश (cf. सत्याय मितभाषिणाम् I. 7.) स्मितभाषी = स्मितपूर्वाभिभाषी and उदग्राभिभाषी = Having a generous or hearty talk. cf. उदग्र above. स्मितोदग्राभिभाषी may mean स्मितोदग्रं यथा तथा अभिभाषणशीलः ।. वृद्धोपदेशाचारः-वृद्ध here stands for विद्यावृद्धs and the expression means विद्यावृद्धोपदेशानुसारी आचारः (= अनुष्ठानं) यस्य. Doing things according to the advice or instructions of the learned. It should be noted that कौटिल्य has devoted one full chapter to वृद्धसंयोग while dealing with the training of a King.

P. 36 l. 1 पुरस्तात्-before. कौटिल्य has given details of अमात्यसम्पत् on p. 15 as follows:-जानपदोऽभिजातः स्ववग्रहः कृतशिल्पश्चक्षुष्मान् प्राज्ञो धारयिष्णुर्दक्षो वाग्मी प्रगल्भः प्रतिपत्तिमानुत्साहप्रभावयुक्तः क्लेशसहः शुचिर्मैत्रो दृढभक्तिः शीलबलारोग्यसत्त्वसंयुक्तः स्तम्भचापल्यवर्जितः संप्रियो वैराणामकर्तेत्यात्मसम्पत् ।

(अर्थशास्त्र I. 5. p. 15). शामशास्त्री reads पुरस्तान्मध्ये चान्ते च and translates अमात्यसम्पत् is dscribed in the beginning, middle and at the close of the work ; and refers to अर्थशास्त्र I. 15 (= पुरस्तात्), V 5 and 6 (= मध्ये), and VIII 1 (= अन्ते). It must, however, be observed that the अमात्यसम्पत् under that express name is described only at अर्थशास्त्र I. 15. But at the other places referred to by शामशास्त्री, though some of the qualities of अमात्य may have been mentioned, we can't say that we get a description of अमात्यसम्पत् at those places. The expression अमात्यसम्पत् occurs in the अर्थशास्त्र at four other places on pages 30, 68 and 70 (where we have अमात्यसम्पदा) and 428 (where we have अमात्यसम्पत्). Of these, the last is important for our purposes. It is : पुरस्तादेवं विहितमित्यतिक्रान्तावेक्षणम्–' अमात्यसम्पदुक्ता पुरस्तादिति ।'. This shows ' मध्ये चान्ते च ' is not included in this sentence. गण० seems, therefore, to be right in completing this sentence with पुरस्तात् only. As for मध्ये चान्ते च these words should go with the next sentence, which begins the statement of जनपद सम्पत्. Curiously enough शामशास्त्री reads these words twice (as would appear from his translation) once at the end of the sentence speaking of अमात्यसम्पद् and again at the beginning of जनपद सम्पत्. But as we have seen they are out of place in the former place.

l. 2 मध्ये चान्ते च At the centre and at the ends or extremeties स्थानवान् having स्थान or place of resort. आत्मधारणः परधारणश्च capable of maintaining itself and also others (पर). शाम० construes आपदि with परधारणः while गण० construes it with स्वारक्षः etc. According to the former what is meant is that a जनपद must be आत्मधारण as a rule and in times of calamity befalling others it must also be capable of helping them. According to the latter a जनपद must be easy to defend (सु + आरक्षः) and esay to maintain (सु+आजीवः). It may be observed that शाम० does not read स्वारक्षः and स्वाजीवः at all. So for him no other way of construing आपदि is available. गण० could have construed आपदि with परधारण as done by शाम०. But what he has done is certainly better. For if by आपदि we understand calamity of the जनपद in view (and not of others as शाम० takes to be) there is no sense in saying that the जनपद must be आपदि परधारणः. Again the question of defending oneself and maintaining oneself is rife in days of calamity. स्वारक्षः and स्वाजीवः are explained as शैलवननदीदुर्गवत्तया

सुकररक्षः and अल्पायासनिष्पाद्यधान्यादिमान् respectively. For स्वाजीव and स्वारक्ष cf. नदीमातृकं हि स्वाजीवमाश्रयश्चापदि भवति । (p. 299); and पार्वतं तु स्वारक्षं दुरवरोधि कृच्छ्रारोहणम् etc. (p. 294 f.). l. 3 पंकपाषाणोषर etc. This section enmumerates circumstances which should be absent in a जनपद; while सीताखनि etc. gives those that it should have. These two lists contain in them items of expenditure and income respectively (cf. अर्थ. II. 6). l. 4. गव्य = गोहितः पौरुषेयः = पुरुषहितः. गुप्तगोचरः (i) possessed of hidden passage-शाम० (ii) लुब्धकादिरक्षितभूमिः (गण०) The latter idea seems to be supported by कौटिल्य's remark in an earlier place : तेषामन्तराणि वागुरिकशबरपुलिन्दचण्डालारण्यचरा रक्षेयुः । (जनपदनिवेशः). The word may be explained as गोचरै i. e. वनचरैः गुप्तः गुप्तगोचरः. But this explanation is gramatically irregular and again it has to take गोचर in the sense of अरण्यचर which is not supported by कौटिल्य's usage. Nor is शाम's explanation of गोचर = passage any way better, The word गोचर occurs in the अर्थशास्त्र only in one place where it means ' a herd of cattle'(cf. सर्पव्यालत्रासनार्थं गोचरानुपातज्ञानार्थं च त्रस्नूनां घण्टातूर्यं च बध्नीयुः (P.130). गुप्तगोचर may, therefore, mean 'The herds of cattle in which are well-protected (गुप्त). l. 5. अदेवमातृकः Not having god (of rain) for its mother, i.e. not depending on rain-water. cf. नदीमातृक. वारिस्थलपथाभ्यां by water and land routes (वारिपथ and स्थलपथ). भक्तशुचिमनुष्यः Persons therein must be not only भक्त (devoted) but also शुचि (upright or honest). कौटिल्य in one place (P. 16f) has told us of what he calls उपधाs) or tests by which a minister's शुचित्व is to be ascertained (cf. उपधाभिः शौचयेत्). The उपधाs mentioned there are धर्मोपधा, अर्थोपधा, कामोपधा, भयोपधा. l. 7. पुरस्तात् i. e. at अर्थशास्त्र II. 3 named दुर्गविधानम्. l. 9. दीर्घामप्यापदं etc. treasury must be so full that it should be capable of withstanding even a longlasting adversity without any income (अनायति).

P. 37 l. 1. दण्ड Army. पितृपैतामह Hereditary. तुष्टभृतपुत्रदारः तुष्टं भृतं च पुत्रदारं यस्य. It is worth nothing how कौटिल्य is emphasizing the idea that the wives and children of the soldiers must be well contented and well-fed. अविसंवादित Not averse to. गण० reads प्रवासेष्व अपि संप्रदित who is well-provided with all amenities even on journey. l. 3. अद्वैध्य = द्वैधरहितः, अभेद्यः । l. 4. महत् लघुसमुत्थम् Great (in power) but light in movement i. e.

that can be easily roused and prepared. l. 5 ff अराजबीन etc. this paragraph may be contrasted with the 1st paragraph above. दैवप्रमाण depending on fate or destiny विरक्तप्रकृतिः whose प्रकृतिs are averse to him. l. 7 एवंभूतो हि॰ The preceding lines contain a list of qualities which make the enemy easy to uproot. l. 8 सप्तैताः– the number of प्रकृतिs is seven. अरिs are not to be taken as forming one of the प्रकृतिs.

P. 38 l. 1 सम्पादयत्य॰ It is ultimately the आत्मवत्ता or otherwise of a नृपति that counts. An आत्मवान् नृपति may make even defective प्रकृतिs full; while an अनात्मवान् नृपति will destroy even the most perfect प्रकृतिs. l. 3. f चातुरन्तः The master of the earth bounded by the four oceans (चतुरन्ता पृथिवी) i. e. the whole world. हन्यते वा etc. A king whose प्रकृति become दुष्टs. ultimately falls a prey to his own प्रकृतिs or to the enemies. l. 5 आत्मवांस्तु etc. An आत्मवान् नृपति attains fullness of प्रकृतिs and wins the whole world. He never comes to grief.

No. 5

Brahmasūtra-Śāṁkarabhāṣya II. 1. 4-9

A General Note:—

The सूत्र style is a unique feature in Sk. literature caused by the oral tradition by which learning was handed down in India. Bulk of literature, when it outgrew the capacity of man to learn, naturally called for some device for cutting down the bulk without at the same time sacrificing the contents or teachings. And the outcome is the sūtra style. Thus we have सूत्रs on almost every branch of study. The कल्पसूत्रs comprising the श्रौत, the गृह्य and the धर्मसूत्रs perhaps represent the early stage in the formation of the सूत्र style which apperars to be heading towards perfection in the दर्शनसूत्रs (the सुत्रs of the न्याय, मीमांसा and वेदान्त in particular), and the सूत्रs of पाणिनि and वार्तिकs of कात्यायन.

The word सूत्र has been explained as a group of words which is suggestive of a large number of connected ideas. It is derived from the √ सूच् to suggest. शबरस्वामिन् also says that the सूत्रs are so called because they string together as it were portions of what they are intended to convey. The only characteristic of a सूत्र that we can discover from these explanations is brevity. But a later writer has put together all the characteristics of a सूत्र in a small couplet.

अल्पाक्षरमसंदिग्धं सारवद् विश्वतोमुखम्।
अस्तोभमनवद्यं च सूत्रं सूत्रविदो विदुः॥

बादरायण's work can be said to satisfy almost all these expectations to a large extent and hence can rightly be called a सूत्र work. It must, however, be observed that by its very nature a सूत्र work requires something like tradition for a correct and thorough understanding of its teachings. In the absence of such a tradition it is bound to give rise to a plethora of interpretations widely diverging from and sometimes even dimetrically opposed to one another. This is exactly what has happened in the case of the ब्रह्मसूत्रs with the result that they have defeated the very object with which they were composed.

As suggested above the सूत्रs are intended to put in a nut-shell the teachings of the growing bulk of literature. जैमिनी and बादरायण wrote their मीमांसासूत्र and ब्रह्मसूत्र to systematize the teachings of the पूर्व and the उत्तर portions of the वेद respectively. The former essays to systematize the कर्मकाण्ड while वेदान्त forms the subject-matter of the latter. Whatever might have been the state of things just when the ब्रह्मसूत्र was composed, it appears that the great आचार्यs had to interpret the work by themselves and without any single unbroken traditional interpretation to guide them, with the inevitable result that they have seen widely diverging systems in the same work.

Thus we have what is known as the five schools of वेदान्त. शङ्कराचार्य (8th C. A. D.) propounds the केवलाद्वैत view the main tenets of which have been pithily summarised as ' ब्रह्म सत्यं जगन्मिथ्या जीवो ब्रह्मैव नापरः ।'. Next came रामानुज (10th C. A. D.) with his विशिष्टाद्वैत; निम्बार्क (C. 1150 A. D.) with his द्वैताद्वैतः वल्लभ (1479-1531 A. D.) with his शुद्धाद्वैत and मध्व (1197-1378 A. D.) with his द्वैत views. Each of these आचार्यs (and there are a host of others besides these) declares that the view propounded by him is the right view—the view preached in the Sruti and the ब्रह्मसूत्रs of बादरायण, and is at great pains to show how all other views are incorrect and wrong.

The ब्रह्मसूत्रs of बादरायण comprise four अध्यायs having four पादs each, designated according to the subject-matter समन्वय, अविरोध, साधन and फल अध्यायs respectively. The second अध्याय seeks to establish अविरोध by removing all objections against the चेतनकारणवाद propounded by the work as a whole on the basis of स्मृति or तर्क or the mutual contradictions among the उप० passages themselves.

Every पाद is divided into several सूत्रs which are grouped into several topics called अधिकरणs which is a technical term signifying the peculiar nature of the arrangement obtaining there. An अधिकरण has five parts viz. the subject-matter, the doubt concerning it, the prima facie view in that connection, the reply or the final view and the connection (of the topic with what has preceded or with the शास्त्र as a whole). The following couplet gives in a nut-shell the frame-work of an अधिकरणः विषयो विशयश्चैव पूर्वपक्षस्तथोत्तरम् । सङ्गतिश्चेति पञ्चाङ्गं वाक्येऽधिकरणं स्मृतम् ॥.

The अधिकरण extracted here raises an objection against the चेतनकारणवाद which in the first अध्याय has been established as the औपनिषदिक दर्शन. The सांख्य has raised the objection on the basis of तर्क (reasoning) stating that चेतन ब्रह्मन् can't be the प्रकृति of अचेतन जगत् owing to the विलक्षणत्व between the two. He also tries to establish that तर्क can have scope as regards ब्रह्मन्, it being a परिनिष्पन्न वस्तु and that it is perhaps better than श्रुति, for it is nearer to अनुभव than श्रुति. शंकराचार्य, however, points out that no other प्रमाण but श्रुति can have scope as regards ब्रह्मन्. For the latter is devoid of रूपादिs and लिङ्गादिs. He then points out that the assumption of सालक्षण्य between the cause and effect is not invariably valid and hence its absence can't disprove कार्यकारणभाव. He also shows cases like वृश्चिकादिs and केशनखादिs growing from गोमयादिs and पुरुषादिs which are विलक्षण from them He further refutes the other प्रसङ्गs (called the तद्वत्प्रसङ्ग) and points out that these प्रसङ्गs could go hard not for him but for his opponent; and that the श्रुति passage विज्ञानं चाविज्ञानं च can be well explained by वेदान्तिन्, but that the सांख्य will find it impossible to explain them. Hence by स्थूणानिखननन्याय, the view of the उपनिषद्s viz. चेतनकारणवाद is again firmly established.

Here I give a summary of the contents of this अधिकरण (as explained by शंकरा०) in Sanskrit verses composed by me about 15 years ago :—

ब्रह्मैव मूलं जगतः

ब्रह्मैव मूलं जगतः श्रुतं यत् सांख्यो हि तद्दूषयितुं प्रवृत्तः ।
प्रधानवादं परमार्थमिच्छंस्तर्काश्रयेणाप्यवतिष्ठतेऽत्र ॥ १ ॥
धर्मो हि तर्कानवगाह्यरूपः श्रुत्येकगम्यो; न तथायमर्थः ।
निष्पाद्यरूपस्तु सदा हि धर्मो निष्पन्नरूपं परमात्मतत्त्वम् ॥ २ ॥
अतः प्रमाणान्तरसावकाशत्वमिष्यतेऽस्मिन्परमात्मतत्त्वे ।
तस्माच्च तर्काश्रयमभ्युपेत्य प्रधानवादी प्रतिशङ्कतेऽत्र ॥ ३ ॥
गुणा हि कार्यस्य सदा समाना गुणैः प्रकृत्या इति लक्ष्यते हि ।
विलक्षणत्वं जगतः प्रसिद्धं परात्मनश्चेतनशुद्धरूपात् ॥ ४ ॥
जगन्न शुद्धं सुखदुःखमोहैर्युतं तथोच्चावचमध्यभेदम् ।
अचेतनं चैतदथोवगम्यते चिदात्मनश्चाप्युपकारकत्वात् ॥ ५ ॥

भृत्यश्चेतनः स्वस्य स्वामिनोप्युपकारकः ।
न तथा; तच्छरीरादि ह्युपकारकमिष्यते ॥ ६ ॥
प्रत्यक्षमूलं श्रुतिशास्त्रदृष्टमचेतनत्वं जगतः प्रसिद्धम् ।
विलक्षणत्वाच्च चिदात्मनोऽस्य विशुद्धरूपान्न हि तस्य कार्यम् ॥ ७ ॥
क्वचिद्विभाति चैतन्यं क्वचिच्च न विभाति तत ।
चैतन्ययुतकार्यस्य वैलक्षण्यं न चात्मनः ॥ ८ ॥
वदतैवं वार्यते तु कृच्छ्राद्वैधर्म्यमेकतः ।
अपरं शुद्धिहीनत्वमूलं केन निवार्यते ॥ ९ ॥
विलक्षणत्वं द्विविधं च गम्यते श्रुतेर्विकारस्य च मूलकारणात् ।
चैतन्ययुक्तं श्रुतिराह कारणं चैतन्यहीनां विकृतिं तथांशतः ॥ १० ॥
भूतेन्द्रियाणामपि चेतनत्वपरा श्रुतिर्या क्वचिदत्र दृष्टा ।
न चेतनत्वं हि तया प्रसाध्यं यतोऽभिमानिव्यपदेश एषः ॥ ११ ॥
भोक्तृभूतेन्द्रियाणां च विशेषाद्वा विशेषणात् ।
देवतानामनुगतेर्व्यवहारस्य वा पुनः ॥ १२ ॥
विलक्षणत्वेऽपि च कार्यकारणभावेऽभ्युपेते हि जगत्परात्मनोः ।
असज्जगत्प्राक्प्रभवात् प्रसज्यते सत्कार्यवादश्च विरुध्यते तव ॥ १३ ॥
अपीतिकाले च यदाखिलं जगत्स्वकारणे ब्रह्मणि सम्प्रलीयते ।
तदाविभागेन हि कार्यधर्मतस्तत्कारणस्यापि च दोषभागिता ॥ १४ ॥
अभेदमाप्तेपि च भेदजाते सृष्टौ पुनर्भेदलयप्रसंगः ।
हेतोरभावेपि तथाभ्युपेते भेदे पुनर्मुक्तभवप्रसंगः ॥ १५ ॥
विभक्तमेवेदमपीतिकाले जगद् भवेद् ब्रह्मण एवमत्र ।
अपीत्यभावोऽभ्युपपन्नहानिः प्रसज्यते कारणकार्यभेदात् ॥ १६ ॥
तर्काप्रतिष्ठा खल तर्कसिद्धा साध्नोति तस्यैव प्रतिष्ठितत्वम् ।
सर्वेऽप्रतिष्ठेऽपि च तर्कजाते उच्छिद्यते संव्यवहार एव ॥ १७ ॥
एवं तर्कविरुद्धोऽयं ब्रह्मवादो न युज्यते ।
नातो ब्रह्मप्रकृतिकं जगदभ्युपगम्यते ॥ १८ ॥
इत्युक्तवन्तं सांख्यं हि वेदान्ती प्रतिभाषते ।
कुत्रायं नियमो दृष्टो यत्समे कार्यकारणे ॥ १९ ॥

दृष्टान्तभावेन हि बाध्यतेऽसौ न्यायस्त्वदुक्तः प्रकृतेर्विकृत्याः ।
विलक्षणत्वस्य; चितेस्तथाहि जडोद्भवोऽप्यत्र न दृश्यते किम् ॥ २० ॥
अचेतनाच्चापि तथैव गोमयात्सचेतनान् वृश्चिककीटकादिकान् ।
दृष्ट्वात्र जातान्कथमेवमुच्यते विलक्षणत्वात्प्रकृतिर्न चेतनम् ॥ २१ ॥
अत्रापि चैतन्यविहीनकाया न चेतनाश्चिद्रहितान् सृजन्ति ।
अचेतनेभ्यश्च भवन्ति नैवं विलक्षणत्वस्य निराकृतिः स्यात् ॥ २२ ॥
अचेतनत्वेपि तथा समाने चिदाश्रयत्वं क्वचिदस्ति शक्यम् ।
क्वचिच्च नेतीदृश एव भेदो ब्रह्मैव तस्मात्प्रकृतिर्जगत्याः ॥ २३ ॥
विलक्षणत्वेन हि किं तवेष्टं ब्रह्मस्वभावाननुवर्तनं वा ।
समग्रभावेन तथांशतो वा चैतन्यरूपेण च वा विकृत्याम् ॥ २४ ॥
तत्राद्यपक्षेऽनिशयापहारे कथं विकारः प्रकृतिश्च वा स्यात् ।
अत्यन्तसाम्ये नहि दृष्टपूर्वो भावः प्रकृत्या विकृतेस्तथापि ॥ २५ ॥
असिद्धतादोषविदुष्ट आस्ते पक्षो द्वितीयो नहि लभ्यते किम् ।
सत्तास्वभावो ह्यनुवर्तमानः कार्ये तथा ब्रह्मणि कारणे च ॥ २६ ॥
दृष्टान्त एवेह च नोपलभ्यः पक्षे तृतीयेऽपि तथाऽभ्युपेते ।
एवं हि वेदान्तिभिरभ्युपेतं सर्वं यथा ब्रह्मविकार एव ॥ २७ ॥
अवार्ग्भवाद्यो विकृतेरसत्त्वप्रसङ्ग उक्तो भवता स नैव ।
अस्मन्मतं दूषयितुं समर्थो; न साद्धि कार्यं त्रितयेऽपि काले ॥ २८ ॥
प्रकृत्यनन्यत्तु सदेव कार्यं तस्या अभावे न हि सत्त्वमस्य ।
एवं स्थितेऽत्र प्रतिषिध्यते किं त्वया हि तत्सत्त्वनिषेधनेन ॥ २९ ॥
निषेधमात्रं न निषेध्यमस्ति निषेधनस्यास्य ततो न दोषः ।
कार्यं हि सत्स्यादसदेव वा स्यादनन्यरूपं खलु वान्यरूपम् ॥ ३० ॥
न चाप्यपीतावपि दोषभाक्त्वमविद्ययाध्यस्तमिदं हि कार्यम् ।
धर्मैः स्वकैर्दूषयितुं न शक्तं स्वकारणं सम्प्रलये स्थितौ वा ॥ ३१ ॥
घटादयो वा रुचकादयोऽपिवा चतुर्विधं वेह न भूतजातकम् ।
प्रलीयमानं प्रकृतिं प्रदूषयेत्तथैव चेदं जगदात्मकारणम् ॥ ३२ ॥
स्वापे समाधौ च यथाऽविभागे प्राप्ते भवत्येत पुनर्विभागः ।
अविद्ययोत्पादित एवमेव भवेद्विभागः पुनरेव सृष्टौ ॥ ३३ ॥

पुनर्भवो मुक्तजनस्य न स्याद्यतोह्यविद्यास्य समूलनुन्ना ।
सम्यक्प्रबोधे न पुनर्भवस्य प्रसाधनायालमिवेतरस्य ॥ ३४ ॥
उत्प्रेक्षितो योऽप्यपरो विकल्पो भिन्नं जगत्स्यात्परमात्मनो यत् ।
अपीतिकाले; प्रतिषिद्ध एव नाङ्गीकृतोऽस्माभिरसौ कदाचित् ॥ ३५ ॥
प्रत्यक्षगम्यो न तथायमर्थो रूपाद्यभावात्परिनिष्ठितोपि ।
लिङ्गाद्यभावाच्च तथानुमानं मानान्तरं वा न च युज्यतेऽत्र ॥ ३६ ॥
कथं ततः स्यादवकाश एवं निष्पन्नरूपेऽपि परात्मतत्त्वे ।
तर्कस्य; तस्यापि प्रतिष्ठितत्वं न शक्यते साधयितुं कदाचित् ॥ ३७ ॥
प्रस्थापितं तर्कविदा हि किञ्चिद् व्युत्थाप्यते तर्कविदाऽपरेण ।
व्युदस्यते सोऽपि तथा परेण तर्कस्य नैवं हि प्रतिष्ठितत्वम् ॥ ३८ ॥
तर्कादिभिर्नैव कदापि शक्यः सम्यक्प्रबोधः श्रुतिमन्तरेण ।
अतः प्रमाणान्तरसंश्रितानां दृढप्रसक्तः खलु मुक्त्यभावः ॥ ३९ ॥
सम्यक्प्रबोधादितराद्धि मुक्तेर्न साधनं किञ्चिदिहोपदिष्टम् ।
सम्यक्प्रबोधश्च श्रुतिप्रसाध्यस्तस्मान्न तर्केण कदापि मोक्षः ॥ ४० ॥
अस्मन्मते येऽपि च दर्शिता इह दोषास्तथा ते तु भवन्मतेऽपि च ।
शब्दादिहीनाद्धि कथं प्रधानतो विलक्षणं कार्यमिह प्रजायते ॥ ४१ ॥
विलक्षणत्वात्प्रकृतेर्विकृत्या असत्त्वमर्वाक्प्रभवात् प्रसक्तम् ।
अपीतिकाले च विभागहानौ तद्वत्प्रसङ्गोपि तदा समानः ॥ ४२ ॥
विशेषनाशाच्च पुनर्भवेपि भेदो नियन्तुं न च शक्यते वा ।
अथापि भेदेऽभ्युपगम्यमाने मुक्ता भवेयुः पुनरेव बद्धाः ॥ ४३ ॥
केचिद्विभागा अविभागभावं गच्छन्ति नान्ये इति चेत्तथापि ।
प्राप्ता न ये केऽप्यविभागभावं प्रधानकार्यं नु कथं हि ते स्युः ॥ ४४ ॥
दोषा यदेते ह्युभयत्र सक्ताः केनापि पक्षेण न चोदनीयाः ।
पक्षे विरुद्धेऽप्यत एव तेषामदूषकत्वं भवति प्रसिद्धम् ॥ ४५ ॥

एवं निरस्य नितरां निखिलान्स्वदोषान् ।
सन्दर्श्य चान्यमतमेव हि दोषदुष्टम् ।
संसाधितं श्रुतिवशेन नयेन चापि ।
ब्रह्मैव कारणमिहेति न तु प्रधानम् ॥ ४६ ॥

Notes

P. 39 l. 1 ब्रह्मास्य etc. In the fist अध्याय (called the समन्वया-ध्याय) it has been established that ब्रह्मन् is both efficient (निमित्त) as well as material (प्रकृति) cause of the Universe. The first two अधिकरणs of ब्रह्मसूत्र II. 1 were devoted to a refutation of the objections against this view (thus established in the first अध्याय and generally referred to as चेतनकारणवाद) raised on the authority of the सांख्य and the योग स्मृतिs respectively. Now in the third अधिकरण (which is extracted here) the सूत्रकार is out to refute objections against the same चेतनकारणवाद raised on the basis of तर्क (ratiocination). In the first two sentences of his भाष्य, शङ्कराचार्य has stated these facts and thus shown how the present अधिकरण is connected with what has gone before. This connection of the section under consideration with what has preceded is known as अवान्तर सङ्गति. संगति (or connection) which is one of the five members of an अधिकरण stands for (i) connection with what has immediately preceded ; (ii) connction with the पाद or the अध्याय in which the अधिकरण stands, and (iii) cannection with the whole work or शास्त्र. The present अधिकरण is connected with the second अध्याय, since by refuting objections (विरोध) against the चेतनकारणवाद it helps to establish अविरोध which forms the main theme of the द्वितीयाध्याय; and since through the establishment of अविरोध it ultimately helps to establish the main teaching of the whole work, it can also be said to be very well connected with the whole शास्त्र.

l. 2 कुतः पुनः etc. This sentence raises an objection against the तर्कनिमित्त आक्षेप itself. It has been stated above that the first अध्याय has established the चेतनकारणवाद. This it has done by discussing several Upaniṣadic passages, and showing, ultimately that they one and all speak of ब्रह्मन् only and not of प्रकृति or some other matter. Thus the sense or teaching of आगम being established, and आगम being the only प्रमाण for ब्रह्मन् , it is but absurd for any one to raise objections against the अवधारित आगमार्थ (i. e. the चेतनकारणवाद) on the basis of ratiocination (तर्क) which has no scope in ब्रह्मन् at all. Thus तर्कनिमित्त आक्षेप cannot be an आक्षेप at all in the case of ब्रह्मन् and hence there can be no विरोध between आगम and तर्क. For विरोध arises between two views or matters only when and if they refer to one and the same matter (समान विषय). But तर्क

can't touch ब्रह्मन् at all, since ब्रह्मन् is आम्नायैकगोचर. Hence there can be no तर्कमूल आक्षेप or विरोध. And in the absence of any real विरोध where is the need for परिहार for which the present अधिकरण is commenced ?

P. 39 l. 3 **ननु धर्मे इव** etc. In the सूत्र 'चोदनालक्षणोऽर्थो धर्मः' जैमिनि has shown that so far as धर्म is concerned, चोदना (i. e. आगम or वेद) alone is useful as प्रमाण; for the other प्रमाणs such as प्रत्यक्ष, अनुमान, उपमान, अर्थापत्ति and अनुपलब्धि can have no scope there. Now here it is argued that if आगम is the only प्रमाण (निरपेक्ष प्रमाण) for धर्म, should it not be understood as being equally निरपेक्ष प्रमाण for ब्रह्मन् also ? Hence the conclusion to that ब्रह्मन्, like धर्म, is आम्नायैकगोचर or आगममात्रसमधिगम्य, so much that तर्कनिमित्त आक्षेप, as shown above, can't have any scope at all as regards ब्रह्मन्.

l. 4 ff **भवेदयमवष्टम्भो** etc. This sentence takes all wind out of the sails of the above argument. It negatives the very basis of the argument viz. that ब्रह्मन् is आगममात्रसमधिगम्य and as such not open to any other प्रमाण. The reason for this is the epithet अनुष्ठेयरूप applied to धर्म. This distinction between धर्म on the one hand and ब्रह्मन् on the other is very well brought out in the next sentence by pointing out that ब्रह्मन् is परिनिष्पन्न-रूप. Thus धर्म, being अनुष्ठेयरूप (i. e. something which is yet to be brought into being) can't be known by any other प्रमाण but आगम. ब्रह्मन्, however, being परिनिष्पन्नरूप (i.e. an already established or accomplished fact) affords scope not only to आगम but to all the other प्रमाणs also. In this respect ब्रह्मन् stands on a par with पृथिवी and such other things which are all परिनिष्पन्नरूप. This point of distinction between धर्म and ब्रह्मन् has been clearly stated by शङ्कराचार्य at the beginning of his भाष्य on the ब्रह्मसूत्र. Cf 'भव्यश्च धर्मो जिज्ञास्यो न ज्ञानकालेऽस्ति, पुरुषव्यापारतन्त्रत्वात्। इह तु भूतं ब्रह्म जिज्ञास्यं नित्यवृत्तत्वान्न पुरुषव्यापारतन्त्रम्।'. Thus since other प्रमाणs can have scope as regards ब्रह्मन्, therefore, it is possible that there may crop up विरोध between आगम on the one hand and तर्क on the other, and as such तर्कनिमित्त आक्षेप can legitimately be raised against चेतनकारणवाद (though it is अवधारित आगमार्थ).

l. 7 **यथा च श्रुतीनां** etc. Here the पूर्वपक्षिन् is adducing a ground in favour of तर्क as against श्रुति or आगम. When owing to तर्कनिमित्त आक्षेप there crops up विरोध between आगम and तर्क, we have to set aside the one and accept the other. The पूर्वपक्षिन् argues that we should accept the position

supported by तर्क and interpret the conflicting श्रुति passage metaphorically so that there would be no conflict left. This suggestion of the पूर्वपक्षिन् is based on the general principles of अविरोध and एकवाक्यता evolved by the मीमांसकs. According to this principle whenever there is a conflict between one श्रुति and another, one passage is understood in the literal sense and the other is interpreted not literally but figuratively so as to avoid conflict with the first. And here again it is the stronger श्रुति which is understood literally and the weaker one figuratively, the strength and weakness being determined according to the maxim ' सावकाशनिरवकाशयोर्निरवकाशं बलीयः ॥ '. Hence the पूर्वपक्षिन् argues that when there is a conflict between श्रुति and तर्क श्रुति may be figuratively interpreted so as to avoid conflict with तर्क, as is done elsewhere. What the पूर्वपक्षिन् means is that since श्रुति is known to be figuratively interpreted in some cases, therefore, the same may be done in the present case also. This implicatiou in the पूर्वपक्षिन् 's argument is, however, not correct. For the principle to determine which of the conflicting प्रमाणs is to be figuratively interpreted and subordinated to the other is their बलाबल. It is the weaker one that will be subordinated and understood figuratively according to the well-known dictum of जैमिनि ' गुणे त्वन्याय्यकल्पना ' (मीमांसासूत्र). It is, therefore, necessary to show that तर्क is stronger than श्रुति if the suggestion of the पूर्वपक्षिन् is to be accepted. And this is what he tries to do in the following sentences.

P. 40 l. 2 दृष्टसाम्येन etc. युक्ति i.e. तर्क tries to establish its object on the analogy of some matter of actual experience (दृष्ट अर्थ). श्रुति, on the other hand, submits its matter merely on the basis of ऐतिह्य (or tradition) without any basis in or connection with दृष्ट अर्थ. This shows that the former makes a closer approach to अनुभव than the latter. This closer proximity to अनुभव which is possessed by तर्क makes it stronger than श्रुति which does not possess it. For the ultimate goal of ब्रह्मविज्ञान which is declared to be अविद्यायाः निवर्तकम् and मोक्षसाधनम् is direct experience (or अनुभव). And this is done on the basis of another मीमांसा rule viz. ' दृष्टे सम्भवति अदृष्टकल्पना अन्याय्या ' or ' दृष्टमदृष्टतो वरम् '. If अनुभव is not accepted as the goal of ब्रह्मविज्ञान, we shall have to admit it as being अदृष्टफल (i. e. as yielding some unseen result).

But the rule is that nothing should be admitted as being अदृष्टफल as long as some दृष्ट फल can be predicated of it. It is on the basis of this rule that अध्ययनविधि is recognized as enjoying the study of the वेद्s along with their अर्थ. Thus अनुभव being the ultimate goal, any प्रमाण that goes closer to it is naturally stronger than the other which is farther away from it. This shows how तर्क is stronger than श्रुति, which, on that account must be figuratively interpreted so as to avoid conflict with तर्क.

l. 4 f श्रुतिरपि etc. The passage श्रोतव्यो मन्तव्यो निदिध्यासितव्यः is quoted by the पूर्वपक्षिन् to show that even श्रुति (i. e. the उपनिषत् gives a place of honour to तर्क by enjoining its use in addition to itself. It may thus be seen, that the पूर्वपक्षिन् has sought to establish the importance of तर्क on three grounds : (i) श्रुति is at times figuratively interpreted (but not तर्क): (ii) श्रुति is farther removed from अनुभव than तर्क which, by its very nature makes a closer approach to it; and (iii) श्रुति itself has enjined तर्क in addition to itself. It is, therefore, perfectly legitimate to raise an objection against चेतनकारणवाद on the basis of तर्क. And this is what is done in the present सूत्र viz. न विलक्षणत्वात् etc.

l. 8 f चेतनं ब्रह्म जगतः कारणं (i. e. निमित्तकारणं) प्रकृतिश्च. This is a brief and lucid statement of what is called the चेतनकारणवाद or ब्रह्मकारणवाद. 1.8 विकारस्य = विकारभूतस्य (i.e. कार्यभूतस्य) जगतः । प्रकृत्याः = प्रकृतित्वेन अभ्युपगम्यमानस्य ब्रह्मणः । प्रकृतिविकारभावः = कार्यकारणभावः ।

P. 41 l. 2 न च विलक्षणत्वे etc. This is a general rule which is sought to be established on the strength of मृद्विकार like शरावादिs and सुवर्णविकारs like रुचकादिs. According to मीमांसकs कार्यकारणभाव between two things can exist only if they have अन्वय and व्यतिरेक between them. अन्वय is तद्भावे भावः and व्यतिरेक is तदभावे तदभावः. Thus मृद् and शराव are प्रकृति and विकार of one another because शराव exists only if मृद् exists; but it ceases to exist as soon as the मृद् ceases to do so. The same is true of सुवर्ण and रुचकादिs. [For this मीमांसा view on कार्यकारणभाव read : कार्य कारणसम्बन्धो नाम स भवति यस्मिन् सति यद् भवति यस्मिंश्चासति यन्न भवति तत्रैव कार्यकारणसम्बन्धः । शबर० on मी० सू० IV. 3. 2; also cf. 'कार्यानुकृतान्वयव्यतिरेकित्वं कारणत्वम्' defining कारण according to मीमांसकs quoted in the तर्कभाषा by केशवमिश्र]. Now taking these undisputed instances of कार्यकारणभाव it is argued that शरावादिs which are मृद्विकारs are invariably मृदन्वित and रुचकादिs (the सुवर्णविकारs) are invariably सुवर्णान्वित. This

shows that विकारs and प्रकृति always are similar to one another, and that they can't be different in nature from one another. (This is somewhat like the नैय्यायिक view viz. कारणगुणाः कार्ये समानजातीयं गुणान्तरमारभन्ते which ultimately means 'Like cause, like effect'). l. 4 तथेदमपि जगत् etc. The principle thus established above (viz. प्रकृति and विकार must be सलक्षण and can never be विलक्षण) is now applied to the view that ब्रह्मन् and जगत् are related to each other as प्रकृति and विकार. It is well-known that जगत् is अचेतन and सुखदुःखमोहात्मक (i. e. अशुद्ध) while ब्रह्मन् is चेतन and शुद्ध. जगत् and ब्रह्मन् being thus dimetrically opposed to each other, it is impossible to admit प्रकृतिविकारभाव between them. On the other hand we see that both जगत् as well as प्रधान (of the सांख्यs) are अचेतन and सुखदुःखमोहात्मक (or अशुद्ध); and hence it is easy to admit जगत् as विकार of प्रधान. l. 8 अशुद्धं चेदं जगत् etc. जगत् is said to be disparate-in-nature from ब्रह्मन् on two grounds viz. अशुद्धत्व and अचेतनत्व. The former is explained in this sentence. जगत् is सुखदुःखमोहात्मकं and as such the cause of प्रीति, परिताप and विषाद and is at the same time possessed of diversity high and low comprising स्वर्ग, नरक etc. This shows that जगत् is अशुद्ध. l. 9ff अचेतनं चेदं etc. In this and the following lines the पूर्वपक्षिन् is explaining why जगत् must be considered अचेतन. The first ground to prove the अचेतनत्व of जगत् is that it serves as an उपकरण to the चेतन inasmuch as it is the कार्यकरण of the चेतन. Thus जगत् and ब्रह्मन् are उपकारक and उपकार्य respectively, and this उपकार्योपकारकभाव can subsist between two things which are विलक्षण. Between two things which have साम्य with one another it is impossible to have this उपकार्योपकारकभाव. This is shown on the analogy of two प्रदीपs or torches which can't be related by the उपकार्योपकारकभाव owing to their समत्व.

P. 42 l. 2 ननु चेतनमपि etc. The validity of the rule stated above may be challenged on the score of what is called the स्वामिभृत्यन्याय. The servant and the master are both of them चेतन and yet we see उपकार्योपकारकभाव between them. This shows then that साम्य is not necessarily incompatible with उपकार्योपकारकभाव or that उपकार्योपकारकभाव between two things does not necessarily prove their disparity in nature. This ground is, therefore, not enough to prove that जगत् is चेतनविलक्षण and hence अचेतन. l. 3 न स्वामिभृत्ययोः etc. Here is brought out the fallacy in the above exposition of the स्वामिभृत्यन्याय which, tacitly assumes both of

them as being चेतन, and hence सम. The fact, however, is that it is not the चेतन अंश (i. e. आत्मन्) of the भृत्य that is उपकारक. It is only the अचेतन अंश such as बुद्धि that serves the purpose of the master (i. e. his चेतन अंश). Thus even in the case of स्वामिन् and भृत्य it is found that अचेतन and चेतन are related as उपकारक and उपकार्य to each other. This then proves (rather than otherwise) the contention that उपकार्योपकारकभाव between two things prove that they are विलक्षण from one another l. 6 ff न तु स्वयमेव etc. It is impossible that one चेतन should effect favourably or otherwise another चेतन directly. For, as is held by the सांख्यs पुरुषs are निरतिशय and अकर्तृ. According to सांख्यs all कर्तृत्व belongs to त्रिगुणात्मिका प्रकृति only, and the पुरुषs are many and अकर्तृ, केवल, मध्यस्थ, द्रष्टृ and साक्षिन्. It is only through his contact with प्रकृति that though really उदासीन he appears to be कर्तृ and लिङ्ग (i. e. महदादि) though अचेतन appears to be चेतन. [cf जन्ममरणकरणानां प्रतिनियमादयुगपत्प्रवृत्तेश्च । पुरुषबहुत्वं सिद्धं त्रैगुण्यविपर्ययाच्चैव ॥ तस्माच्च विपर्यासान् सिद्धं साक्षित्वमस्य पुरुषस्य । कैवल्यं माध्यस्थ्यं द्रष्टृत्वमकर्तृभावश्च ॥ तस्मात् तत्संयोगादचेतनं चेतनावदिव लिङ्गम् । गुणकर्तृत्वे च तथा कर्तेव भवत्युदासीनः ॥ सांख्यकारिका 18-20]. Thus it is simply impossible to accept the explanation of the स्वामिभृत्यन्याय as going against the rule viz. नहि साम्ये सत्युपकार्योपकारकभावो भवति discussed above. Even this न्याय, if properly understood, is an illustration of the rule rather than an exception to it. उपकार्योपकारकभाव between ब्रह्मन् and जगत् is, therefore, enough to prove that जगत् is ब्रह्मविलक्षण and hence अचेतन. l. 8 f. न च काष्ठलोष्टादीनां etc. In this and the following lines two more grounds are adduced to prove the अचेतनत्व (of at least some part) of the जगत्. The first is प्रमाणाभाव. Nothing, that can't be proved by one or the other of the प्रमाणs, can be accepted as being valid. (Cf. मानाधीना मेयसिद्धिः । or प्रमेयसिद्धिः प्रमाणाद्धि । सांख्यकारिका 3]. It is a matter of प्रत्यक्ष that काष्ठ, लोष्ट etc. are अचेतन; and there is no प्रमाण to show that they are चेतन. If that could be proved, then the whole जगत् would be चेतन and hence not विलक्षण from ब्रह्मन्. But as matters stand at present at least some part of जगत् is अचेतन and hence ब्रह्मविलक्षण. The second ground is लोकप्रसिद्धि according to which the world consists of two sections viz. चेतन and अचेतन. Thus अचेतनत्व of जगत् (at least some part of it) is proved on several grounds. This shows that जगत् is ब्रह्मविलक्षण and hence it ultimately follows that it can't have विलक्षण ब्रह्मन् as its प्रकृति.

P. 43 ll. 1 ff योऽपि कश्चिदाचक्षीत etc. Taking the rule viz. न विलक्षणत्वे प्रकृतिविकारभावो दृष्टः for granted it has been shown that अचेतन जगत् can have अचेतन प्रधान alone as its प्रकृति, and not चेतन ब्रह्मन्. It is, however, possible to argue from the other end and say that because according to श्रुति चेतन ब्रह्मन् is the प्रकृति of जगत्; therefore, on the strength of the same rule we can assume the जगत् as being चेतन. For the essential characteristic of the प्रकृति is observed to run through its विकारs. But this assumption would go against our actual experience viz. that some portion of जगत् is अचेतन. This प्रत्यक्षविरोध is sought to be explained away on the basis of विभावनाविभावनवाद which itself is supported by the anology of स्वापमदमूर्च्छाद्यवस्थाs of man. The चैतन्य of आत्मन् is certainly above all doubt. But there are circumstances under which his चैतन्य is seen to be non-manifest. Such, for example, are the conditions of स्वाप, मद and मूर्च्छा. In thess conditions though his चैतन्य is not manifest, none concludes that आत्मन् is अचेतन. आत्मन् in these conditions is said to be only अविभावित-चैतन्य. Similarly काष्ठलोष्टादिs, though apparently they are अचेतन, should on the analogy of आत्मन् be said to be अविभावितचैतन्य. Thus according to this view, the whole जगत्, being a विकार of the चेतन ब्रह्मन्, is चेतन. But its चैतन्य is in some parts of it विभावित and in other parts it is अविभावित. कार्यकरण and आत्मन् (these two divisions of जगत्), though on a par in point of being चेतन, differ yet from one another owing to the विभावन of चैतन्य in the latter and अविभावन of it in the former. And this disparity on the score of विभावन and अविभावन of चैतन्य in them is enough to explain their गुणप्रधानभाव or उपकार्योपकारकभाव. Another ground for disparity between them is the possession of रूपादिs by the one but not by the other. l. 7 f यथा च पार्थिवत्वावि॰. An illustration is adduced here to show that inspite of समानत्व (or अविशेष) in some respect possessed by the two things, they can be related to one another as उपकार्य and उपकारक if they are परस्परविलक्षण in some other point. मांस, सूप, ओदन etc. are all पार्थिव and thus possessed of समानत्व in that respect. But they are each one of them possessed of some विशेषs which makes them परस्परविलक्षण. And we find that they are परस्परोपकारिन् which in other words means that they are related to one another by उपकार्योपकारकभाव. This analogy should show how कार्यकरण and आत्मन्, though possessed of साम्य in point of चैतन्य, are yet परस्पर-

विलक्षण owing to विभावितत्व and अविभावितत्व of this चैतन्य and can as such be related to one another by उपकार्योपकारकभाव. Thus there is no reason why this विभावनाविभावनवाद should not be accepted. On the contrary it is better to accept it: for by doing so we shall be faithfully accepting the श्रुति also which declares चेतन ब्रह्मन् as the प्रकृति of जगत् without at the same time running counter to the well-known विभाग्s of जगत् into चेतन and अचेतन.

It may be observed that the view put forth here as based on विभावन and अविभावन of चैतन्य is not acceptable to शङ्कराचार्य. Nor is it acceptable to the पूर्वपक्षिन्. The सांख्य--who wants to argue in favour of his प्रधान कारणवाद. It is a view propounded by some school of वेदान्त which must have have flourished before शङ्कराचार्य. Later on in the 15th century we find वल्लभाचार्य (of the शुद्धाद्वैत school of वेदान्त) propounding a similar view.

P. 44 l. 1 ff तेनापि कथंचित् etc. From the above exposition it would appear that there is no वैलक्षण्य between जगत् and ब्रह्मन् on the score of चेतनाचेतनत्व. But even after accepting this view it is not possible to explain away the शुद्ध्यशुद्धित्वलक्षण वैलक्षण्य between them. Even he, thus, would not be justified in holding चेतन ब्रह्मन् as the प्रकृति of जगत्. For whereas the former is शुद्ध, the latter is अशुद्ध—a fact which even he has to admit. l. 3. **न चेतरदपि** etc. इतरत् विलक्षणत्व means चेतनाचेतनत्वलक्षण विलक्षणत्व-which has been so elaborately negatived obove on the assumption of विभावनाविभावनवाद. The expression तथात्व in the सूत्र also stands for विलक्षणत्व on this very ground. The सूत्रकार declares that तथात्व i. e. विलक्षणत्व of जगत् from ब्रह्मन् is known from शब्द (i. e. श्रुति) itself. By शब्द, of course, it means an Upanisadic text. The चेतनत्व of the entire जगत् is obviously against all our experience and is assumed merely on the strength of the fact that चेतन ब्रह्मन् is declared by श्रुति as its प्रकृति combined with the general rule that प्रकृतिविकारभाव between two things invariably points out to their साम्य. But this view, thus assumed on the basis of शब्द, is contradicted by शब्द itself. For the text 'विज्ञानं चाविज्ञानं च' expressly declares that जगत् is partly चेतन and partly अचेतन. This clearly shows that, according to शब्द, जगत् is ब्रह्मविलक्षण. Now it must be observed that though both these views [viz.(1) जगत् is चेतन and (2) जगत् is अचेतन] are sought to be proved on the basis of शब्द there is a vast difference between them. The latter

is supported by a direct text while the former is based on a text which supports it only indirectly. This in other words means that the views are based on श्रुति and लिङ्ग respectively. But it is well-known that श्रुति is stronger than लिङ्ग so much so that in the case of a conflict between them the former is to be accepted and the latter, to be set aside.

P. 44 l. 9ff ननु चेतनत्वमपि etc. On the strength of शब्द it is assumed that जगत् is अचेतन. But we find शब्द itself speaking भूतs and इन्द्रियs (which are अचेतन according to the सिद्धान्तिन्) as being चेतन. There are various passages in the उपनिषद्s which speak of मृद्, आप्, etc. (i. e. भूतs) and प्राणs, वाक्, etc. i.e. इंद्रियs as though they were चेतन, and doing व्यवहारs like चेतन beings. Unless these passages are suitably explained it is impossible to subscribe to the view arrived at above. This is what is sought to be done in the सूत्र that follows.

l. 7 अभिमानिव्यपदेशः = अभिमानिनां (i. e. अधिष्ठात्रीणां देवतानां) व्यपदेशः। l. 7 f मृदाद्यभिमानिन्यो etc. It is not the भूतs and इन्द्रियs merely that are mentioned as carrying on the several चेतनोचित व्यवहारs viz. वदन and संवदन. It is rather the superintending deities that are thus referred to. l. 8f विशेषानुगतिभ्याम् This expression contains the two grounds for the above view given by the सूत्रकार. They are (i) विशेष and (ii) अनुगति. It should be noted that शङ्कराचार्य has explained both in these two different ways. Thus विशेष = (i) The distinction between भोक्तृs on the one hand and भूतेन्द्रियs on the other based on the चेतनत्व of the former and the अचेतनत्व of the latter, or (ii) Addition of the qualifying adjunct viz. देवता. विशेष in the former serves to prove the erroneous nature of the view that the whole जगत् is चेतन (सर्वचेतनता); while in the latter sense it serves the purpose of warding off the misconception that only करणs (and not the देवताs) are referred to in the passages in question (करणमात्राशङ्काविनिवृत्ति). अनुगति = (i) Pervasion of all (भूतs and इन्द्रियs) by देवताs (i. e. superintending deities); or (ii) Carrying out of activities and transactions like sentient being like us by the प्राणs, अनुगति of अभिमानिदेवताs (i. e. अनुगति in the former sense (is proved by मन्त्र, अर्थवाद, इतिहास, पुराण etc; and the same again is shown by texts like, ' अग्निर्वाग् भूत्वा मुखं प्राविशत् । '. अनुगति in the latter sense is shown by the concluding portion of the प्राणसंवाद where the प्राणs are described

as acting like human beings. Thus विशेष and अनुगति (understood in two different senses as shown by शङ्कराचार्य (confirm the view that in the texts under discussion we have not भूतेन्द्रियमात्र-व्यपदेश but अभिमानिव्यपदेश.

P. 46 l. 8 मन्त्र, अर्थवाद, etc. वेदराशि is classified under five heads viz. विविध, मन्त्र, नामधेय, निषेध and अर्थवाद. The मीमांसकs are at great pains to show how each one of these and consequently the whole वेद is connected with क्रिया. For जैमिनि holds that what is not connected with क्रिया is अनर्थक; for आम्नाय is meant for क्रिया only (Cf. आम्नायस्य क्रियार्थत्वादानर्थक्यमतदर्थानाम्). Of these we are concerned with only two viz. मन्त्र and अर्थवाद. मन्त्र is the name given to that section of वेदराशि which reminds us of the अर्थ (matter) connected with sacrificial performances (प्रयोग). Though it is possible that we may be reminded of these matters by some other means also, it is held by the मीमांसकs that this must be done by मन्त्रs only. (Cf. प्रयोगसमवेतार्थस्मारका मन्त्राः । तेषां च तादृशार्थस्मारकत्वेनैवार्थवत्त्वम् । न च दृष्टस्यार्थस्मरणस्य प्रकारान्तरेणापि संभवान्मन्त्राम्नानं व्यर्थमिति वाच्यम् । मन्त्रैरेव स्मर्तव्यमिति नियमविध्याश्रयणात् । अर्थसंग्रह). अर्थवाद is shown to be क्रियार्थ by creating a liking or dislike for the matter enjoined or prohibited. An अर्थवाद is a text conveying स्तुति (eulogy) of the matter enjoined or censure (निन्दा) of the matter prohibited. It is thus of two different kinds and is subservient to विधि or निषेध according to the purpose it serves. It may be remembered that an अर्थवाद is to be figuratively interpreted and is of three different kinds viz. गुणवाद, अनुवाद and भूतार्थवाद, with which, however, we are not here concerned. (Cf. प्राशस्त्यानिन्दान्यतरपरं वाक्यमर्थवादः । तस्य च लक्षणया प्रयोजनवदर्थपर्यवसानम् ।...स द्विविधः विधिशेषो निषेधशेषश्चेति । तत्र 'वायव्यं श्वेतमालभेत भूतिकामः' इत्यादि विधिशेषस्य 'वायुर्वै क्षेपिष्ठा देवता' इत्यादेर्विधेयार्थप्राशस्त्यबोधकतयार्थवत्त्वम् । 'बर्हिषि रजतं न देयम्' इत्यादिविधिशेषस्य 'सोऽरोदीत्, यदरोदीत् तद् रुद्रस्य रुद्रत्वम्' इत्यादेर्निषेध्यस्य निन्दितत्वबोधकतयार्थवत्त्वम् । .... स पुनस्त्रेधा । तदुक्तमम् 'विरोधे गुणवादः स्यादनुवादोऽवधारिते । भूतार्थवादस्तद्धानादर्थवादास्त्रिधामतः ।' इति ।

इतिहास (इति ह आस i. e. So it happened) is the designation generally applied to our two great epics viz. रामायण and महाभारत. Though it is not used in the sense of history in our modern sense of the term, the term does imply that the narration going by that name speaks of what has actually happened some time in the

past. Whatever view is held by scholars about the historicity of the two epics, our traditional view, as shown by the name इतिहास given to them, is that they contain incident that had actually taken place. पुराण is a term which is explained as पुरापि नवं (भवं) पुराणम्. This name is applied to the vast literature dealing with five main topics viz. सर्ग, प्रतिसर्ग, वंश, मन्वन्तरs and वंशानुचरित्र. The पुराणs in their present form contain much more than these so-called लक्षणs of पुराण. This literature is as old as the वेद where it is mentioned along with इतिहास. It is held by some that originally there was only one पुराण. But there is no conclusive evidence to support this view. Whatever be the earlist form and number of पुराणs. We have now several पुराणs (traditional number is eighteen) dealing with matters of varied interest. If श्रुति and स्मृति are main source of the वर्णाश्रमधर्म (or Hinduism in early stages), the पुराणs are the main governing factor of its later phase. Importance of this class of literature for tracing the development of Hinduism and Hindu Society can hardly be exaggerated.

P. 47 l. 3 तत् तेज ऐक्षत etc. This text stands on a different footing. For this we can't understand as being an अभिमानिव्यपदेश. Yet it is व्यपदेश of a देवता (the परा देवता) which runs through its products and superintends them. This text refers not to the तेजोदेवता but to the परा देवता. Thus at any rate देवताव्यपदेश being there, it is not possible to conclude the चेतनत्व of तेजस् (and consequently of all भूतs and इंद्रियs) on the basis of this text also. l. 6. तस्मात् etc. The conclusion arrived at by the पूर्वपक्षिन् is that जगत् is विलक्षण from ब्रह्मन् which, therefore, can't be its प्रकृति.

l. 8 दृश्यते तु. This सूत्र is intended to show that the argument of the पूर्वपाक्षिन् is not sound. For we do have several illustrations to show that things, though विलक्षण from one another, can yet be related to one another as प्रकृति and विकार. Such, for example, are केशनखादिs (अचेतन) and वृश्चिकादिs (चेतन) which are observed to spring from पुरुषादिs (चेतन) and गोमयादिs (अचेतन) respectively.

l. 9 विलक्षणत्वान्नेदं etc. This is the पूर्वपक्ष view which stated in full syllogistic form would be :— ब्रह्मजगतोर्न प्रकृतिविकारभावः ॥ (प्रतिज्ञा); विलक्षणत्वात् । (हेतु), ययोः विलक्षणत्वं न तयोः प्रकृतिविकारभावः । यथा सुवर्णशरावयोः । ययोः प्रकृतिविकारभावः न तयोर्विलक्षणत्वं यथा सुवर्णरुचकयोः ।

(उदाहरण); तथा चात्र । or न तथा चात्र । (उपनय); तस्मात् तथा । or तस्मान्न तथा । (निगमन). Sound as the above argument would appear to be, it is not very difficult to point out the fallacy therein. This is what is done by the words नायमेकान्तः l. 10 एकान्त = An invarible rule. For an अनुमान to be valid, it should have no exception whatever. It should be अव्यभिचार (i.e. it should have no instance to the contrary). But in the present case, as shown above, there are several instances to the contrary. Hence the present अनुमान is not अव्यभिचार. It is सव्यभिचार which technically is designed अनैकान्तिक. Thus when शङ्कराचार्य says नायमेकान्तः what he means is that here we have a case of अनैकान्तिक हेत्वाभास.

Here it may be observed that for a हेतु (and therefore the अनुमान based on it) to be valid, it must satisfy the following five conditions:— (i) पक्षधर्मता (i.e. हेतु residing on पक्ष), (ii) सपक्षे सत्त्वम् (i. e. हेतु being invariable present on the सपक्ष); (iii) विपक्षाद् व्यावृत्तिः (i.e. हेतु being invariable abesent from the विपक्ष): (iv) असत्प्रतिपक्षत्वम् (i.e. हेतु having no प्रतिपक्ष or a rival हेतु which would prove just the opposite of what is desired to be proved); and (v) अबाधितविषयत्वम् (i. e. हेतु not being contradicted by stronger प्रमाण proving just the opposite of what is to be proved by the हेतु.) Violation of one or more of these conditions by a हेतु makes it invalid. हेत्वाभास is the name given to an invalid हेतु in general; and it is said to be of five different kinds according to the condition or conditions violated. The names of these five varieties are सव्यभिचार, विरुद्ध, असिद्ध, सत्प्रतिपक्ष, and बाधित. [For detail see अन्नम्भट्ट's तर्कसङ्ग्रह].

The सव्यभिचार or अनैकान्तिक (which is the type found by शङ्कराचार्य in the पूर्वपक्षिन्'s argument) occurs when the third of the above-mentioned five conditions is violated. According to अन्नम्भट्ट's view this would be साधारण अनैकान्तिक which is defined as साध्याभावसद्वृत्तिः साधारणोऽनैकान्तिकः यथा पर्वतो वह्निमान्, प्रमेयत्वात् इति । प्रमेयत्वस्य वह्न्यभाववति ह्रदे विद्यमानत्वात् । (तर्कसंग्रह).

P. 48 l. 2 **ननु अचेतनान्येव** etc. The पूर्वपक्षिन् here tries to show the instances adduced against his argument above are, in fact, illustration supporting it. For, he argues अचेतन केशनखs are the विकार of not the चेतन पुरुष but his अचेतन शरीर and अचेतन गोमय is the प्रकृति of not the चेतन वृश्चिक but his अचेतन शरीर only. Thus in neither of these cases is there विलक्षणत्व between प्रकृति and विकृति. Hence these instances confirm rather than disprove the state-

ment 'न च विलक्षणत्वे प्रकृतिविकारभावो दृष्टः।' l. 3 उच्यते etc. The following lines contain a reply to the above attempt of the पूर्वपक्षिन्. Inspite of his endeavours, the वैलक्षण्य between केशनखादिs and वृश्चिकादिशरीरs on the one hand and पुरुषादिशरीरs and गोमयादिs on the other stands as it is. For in these two pairs of प्रकृति and विकृति we find that some viz. पुरुषादिशरीरs and वृश्चिकादिशरीरs are capable of harbouring the चेतन in them while the other two viz. केशनखादिs and गोमय are not.

l. 6 अत्यन्तसारूप्ये च etc. Here is set farth another flaw in the पूर्वपक्षिन्'s argument viz that ther can be no प्रकृतिविकारभाव where there is विलक्षणत्व. This in other words means that प्रकृतिविकारभाव exists among things which are not विलक्षण from one another. Now if this idea is taken too literally it would mean that प्रकृतिविकारभाव exists between things which are not विलक्षण in any respect (i. e. which are extremely similar or अत्यन्तसरूप to one another). But this is absolutely wrong. For if two things are अत्यन्तसरूप, we can't even dream of प्रकृतिविकारभाव between them. For it is against our direct experience or प्रत्यक्ष प्रमाण. Thus considered, the argument of the पूर्वपक्षिन् is contradicted (and disproved) by direct experience (प्रत्यक्ष) and as such the fallacy in it would be technically called बाधित, which occurs when the last of the five conditions of a valid हेतु is violated. ll. 7ff अथोच्येत etc. This sentence contains an attempt of the पूर्वपक्षिन् to save his position against the above attack and the next sentence shows the futility of it. The पूर्वपक्षिन् might argue that when he says that प्रकृति and विकार can't be विलक्षण form one another what he means is not that they are अत्यन्तसरूप but that they should have some common point or स्वभाव. And such स्वभाव does exist between the pairs referred to above. For they are all पार्थिव. Thus the attack based on अत्यन्तसारूप्य leading ultimately to बाधितत्व has no ground at all. If this is so then some such स्वभाव can be found to be common to जगत् and ब्रह्मन् also. Both are existing and thus both have सत्ता as a साधारण स्वभाव. They can, therefore, be प्रकृति and विकार of one another. Thus this position now accepted by the पूर्वपक्षिन् would throw overboard the very ground of his attack on the चेतनकारणवाद. Thus after all there seems to be now no way of escape for the पूर्वपक्षिन्. l. 10ff विलक्षणत्वेन च कारणेन etc. Now in order to decide the issue finally and once for all, शङ्कराचार्य takes all possible ways

in which the expression विलक्षणत्व can be understood and shows that with each and every one of these senses of विलक्षणत्व the पूर्वपक्षिन्'s argument is nothing but illogical Thus विलक्षणत्व = (i) अशेषस्य ब्रह्मस्वभावस्य अननुवर्तनम् ; (ii) यस्य कस्यचिद् ब्रह्मस्वभावस्य अननुवर्तनम् ; or (iii) चैतनस्य अननुवर्तनम्.

P. 49 l. 2 प्रथमे etc. If विलक्षणत्व is understood in the first sense, it can be avoided only if two things are अत्यन्तसरूप. But then between two such things there can be no प्रकृतिविकारभाव as already explained above. l. 4 द्वितीये etc. The second explanation of विलक्षणत्व requires that there should not be any single quality of the one persisting in the other. Now विलक्षणत्व in this sense, does not exist at all beween जगत् and ब्रह्मन् . For the सत्तालक्षण स्वभाव of ब्रह्मन् is found to persist in आकाश etc. Thus if विलक्षणत्व is understood in the second alternative, the हेतु viz. विलक्षणत्व (adduced to prove the अभाव of प्रकृतिविकारभाव) does not itself exist in जगत् (and also ब्रह्मन्) which forms its पक्ष. Thus the condition पक्षधर्मता is violated and violation of this condition make it (technically speaking) असिद्ध हेत्वाभास (more accurately आश्रयासिद्ध). Hence शङ्कराचार्य points out that in the second alternative there would be असिद्धत्व. l. 5 तृतीये तु etc. The third explanation of विलक्षणत्व becomes unacceptable because on its acceptance it would become impossible to offer any दृष्टान्त (positive or negative). Absence of any दृष्टान्त positive (सपक्ष) or negative (विपक्ष) naturally will result in the violation of conditions two and three above. वाचस्पतिमिश्र remarks that the argument of the पूर्वपाक्षिन् here is open to the fallacy called असाधारण. (Cf. निदर्शनाभावादसाधारण इत्यर्थः) According to तर्कसंग्रह, however, it would be अनुपसंहारिन् (which is defined as अन्वयव्यतिरेकदृष्टान्तरहितः अनुपसंहारी). Both असाधारण and अनुपसंहारी are, however, sub-varieties of the same variety of हेत्वाभास viz. अनैकान्तिक or सव्यभिचार. l. 5ff किं हि यच्चैतन्येन etc. Here शङ्कराचार्य is showing how there is दृष्टान्ताभाव. Put in syllogistic form the पूर्वपक्ष view would be : जगत् अब्रह्मप्रकृतिकम् । चैतन्येनानन्वितत्वात् ।. Proceeding further the statement of the व्याप्ति and its उदाहरण (or दृष्टान्त) would be: यत् चैतन्येनानन्वितम् तत् अब्रह्मप्रकृतिकम् यथा—? Here when we come to यथा we have only a question mark before us. For there is nothing which can be given as an illustration. A दृष्टान्त must, according to its very definition, be acceptable to both the contending parties. Cf.

वादिप्रतिवादिनोः संप्रतिपत्तिविषयोऽर्थो दृष्टान्तः [तर्कभाषा]. But in the present case nothing can be adduced as दृष्टान्त; for whatever is adduced as being अब्रह्मप्रकृतिक is bound to be unacceptable to the ब्रह्मवादिन्. According to him every thing is ब्रह्मप्रकृतिक. And if no दृष्टान्त can be given, the matter comes to a stand-still. Thus even with third alternative the पूर्वपक्षिन् can't save his position. This ultimately means that by no means whatever can विलक्षणत्व be said to prove the absence of प्रकृतिविकारभाव ; and thus the contention of the पूर्वपक्षिन् based on that ground topples to the ground. l. 7 आगमविरोधस्तु etc. This is another reason why the पूर्वपक्षिन्'s view must be discarded. That it is illogical has been already shown. But it is also contrary to the highest प्रमाण viz. आगम or श्रुति; and is as such totally to be discarded. l. 10 यत्तूक्तं परिनिष्पन्नत्वा etc. Having thus refuted the तर्कनिमित्त आक्षेप against चेतनकारणवाद, शङ्कराचार्य now shows that ब्रह्मन् like धर्म is आगममात्रसमधिगम्य : and hence has to be accepted just as it is known from आगम. This in other words means that तर्क has no scope as regards ब्रह्मन् and has, therefore, no power to challenge the अवधारित आगमार्थ, so far as ब्रह्मन् is concerned. ब्रह्मन् is परिनिष्पन्न, as argued by the पूर्वपक्षिन्; but mere परिनिष्पन्नत्व, is not enough to afford scope to the other प्रमाणs. प्रत्यक्ष can have scope regarding a thing only if it has रूप etc. अनुमान can have scope only if there is some लिङ्ग (or some well-perceived circumstance invariably associated with it). This shows that अनुमान depends upon प्रत्यक्ष. Similarly other प्रमाणs also (viz. उपमिति, अर्थापत्ति) depend on प्रत्यक्ष. Now ब्रह्म being devoid of रूपादिs can't afford any scope to प्रत्यक्ष; and hence also to none of the other प्रमाणs which depend upon प्रत्यक्ष. The वेदान्तिन्s accept one more प्रमाण viz. अनुपलब्धि. But that प्रमाण is useful to perceive अभाव only ; and hence has no scope as regards ब्रह्मन् which is भावरूप. Thus though theoretically it is quite correct to say that ब्रह्मन is open to other प्रमाणs also because it is परिनिष्पन्न, yet a closer consideration shows the futility of this claim for other प्रमाणs. The point can be made more explicit by an illustration. According to existing rules and regulations every one that has passed the S. S. C. Examination with University Subjects has a right to join a College for higher studies. But there are several persons who even after having passed the examination with University subject cannot join a college because they cannot afford to bear the heavy

expenses in the form of fees, books etc. Now just as inspite of the theoretical right possesed by them, several persons find it impossible to exercise their right for want of capacity in other respects similarly, here inspite of their theoretical right to have scope as regards ब्रह्मन्, the other प्रमाणs find it impossible to exercise that right owing to their own limitations and restrictions Thus the view that other प्रमाणs have a scope as regards ब्रह्मन् remains only a theoretical matter (or is a mere मनोरथ) which cannot come into actual practice. And thus ultimately ब्रह्मन् is आगममात्रप्रमेय even as धर्म is !

P. 50 l. 3 ff तथा च श्रुतिः etc. This view that ब्रह्मन् is आगममात्रप्रमेय and not open to प्रमाणान्तर is supported by श्रुति which declares that it is दुर्बोध (hard to comprehend) even for सिद्धs. l. 6 ff स्मृतिरपि etc. It is further shown that स्मृति also lends its support to the same view. l. 12f यदपि श्रवण etc. Now शङ्कराचार्य turns to the argument of the पूर्वपक्षिन् that श्रुति itself declares तर्क as deserving respect and acceptance. The पूर्वपक्षिन् is only partly right. For तर्क is really आदर्तव्य, no doubt. But it is only the श्रुत्यनुगृहीत तर्क that deserves to be accepted and not the शुष्क तर्क also. It is only श्रुत्यनुगृहीत तर्क that is accepted as being a means (अङ्ग) to अनुभव (or ब्रह्मसाक्षात्कार). Any other तर्क not based on श्रुति or running counter to it can't certainly have that honour.

P. 51 l. 1 ff स्वप्नान्तबुद्धान्तयोः etc. Here शङ्कराचार्य has given us three instances of what he calls श्रुत्यनुगृहीत तर्क. (i) Since experiences in the dreaming condition on the one hand and the wakeful condition on the other are mutually exclusive, therefore, it follows that they do not constitute the real nature of आत्मन्. Cf. तथा स्वप्नोऽत्र वेद्यं तु न स्थिरं जागरे स्थिरम् । तद्भेदोऽतस्तयोः संविदेकरूपा न भिद्यते ॥ पंच० 9. 3. (ii) Since in the state of deep sleep आत्मन् sets aside all प्रपञ्च and gets merged into the सत् आत्मन्, therefore, it follows that आत्मन् (जीव) is identical with सत् आत्मन and devoid of all प्रपञ्च. (iii) Since प्रपञ्च is ब्रह्मप्रभव, therefore it follows, on the strength of कार्यकारणानन्यत्वन्याय, that प्रपञ्च has no distinct and separate existance as apart from ब्रह्मन. l. 3 कार्यकारणानन्यत्वन्याय The view that कार्य is not अन्य (distinct and separate) from its कारण. This view has been discussed in details and established in separate अधिकरण called the तदनन्यत्वाधिकरण (ब्रह्मसूत्र II. 1. 14-20).

The main point of this न्याय is that if at all कार्य has any existence, it is in and through the existence of its कारण. But as distinct and separate from its cause it can have no existence at all at any point of time. Thus a घट can exist only in and through मृद् of which it is made. Thus घट is मृदात्मना सत्. But if मृद् is removed from it, then nothing will remain there which can go by the name घट. Thus घट, as घट apart from मृद्, has no existence of its own. This pecular relation between कार्य (viz. घट) with कारण (viz. मृद्) is what is meant by कार्यकारणानन्यत्वन्याय. The peculiarity about this न्याय which has to be borne in mind in that it is the कार्य that is thus dependent for its existence on the कारण and not vice versa. [Cf. अनन्यत्वेऽपि कार्यकारणयोः कार्यस्य कारणात्मत्वं न तु कारणस्य कार्यात्मत्वम् ।']

It may be observed that in the three instances of श्रुत्यनुकूल तर्क that he has given, शङ्कराचार्य has put in a nut-shell his favourite doctrines. These, however, are in conformity with the teaching of श्रुति and henee the तर्क which leads us to them is evidently श्रुत्यनुगृहीत and as such acceptable. Any तर्क however, which leads to conclusions contrary to the teaching of श्रुति is शुष्क (श्रुत्यननुगृहीत) तर्क or केवल तर्क. Even the मननविधान cannot be said to recommend the use of such तर्क; says शङ्कराचार्य. तर्काप्रतिष्ठानात् etc. Here शङ्कराचार्य points out to the सूत्र तर्काप्रतिष्ठानादप्य० and tells us that even the सूत्रकार is going to show that केवल तर्क is only deceptive and hence not acceptable. **1. 6 योऽपि चेतनकारण** etc. Here शङ्कराचार्य is referring to the विभावनाविभावनवाद on which चेतनकारणवाद is sought to be supported as we have already seen above. Of course, that view is not acceptable to शङ्कराचार्य even as it is unacceptable to the पूर्वपक्षिन्. But he points out taht even that view is superior to that of the पूर्वपक्षिन्. For even he can on his विभावनाविभावनवाद, explain the Upaniṣadic text which speaks of the जगत् as comprising two विभागs--one चेतन, the other अचेतन. It can very plausibly be said that the latter part also, though really चेतन, appears to be अचेतन owing to the non-manifestation of its चैतन्य.

P. 52 1. 1. **परस्य तु** etc. पर = पूर्वपक्षिन् who holds अचेतन (प्रधान) to be the प्रकृति of जगत्. Now शङ्कराचार्य points out that the पूर्वपक्षिन्'s position is worse than that of the विभावनाविभावनवादिन्. For he can't explain the विभागश्रवण i.e. the passage विज्ञानं चाविज्ञानं

चाभवत्. It is possible to say that चेतन looks as if it is अचेतन owing to the आविर्भावन of its चैतन्य. But on what grond can you say that what is in fact अचेतन looks to be चेतन ? Thus he has to face the विलक्षणत्व between the अचेतन प्रधान and the चेतन (portion of the) जगत्--the विलक्षणत्व which, according to him, goes against प्रकृतिविकारभाव. Thus his view crashes on the very rock which he has devised for the सिद्धान्त view. 1. 4f प्रत्युक्तत्वात् तु etc. शङ्कराचार्य points out that he has already refuted the objection based on विलक्षणत्व by showing how in none of the three possible senses, in which it can be understood, can it stand scrutiny. Therefore, the best course now is to take जगत्कारण to be what it is described by श्रुति to be. 1. 7ff यदि चेतनं etc. The पूर्वपक्षिन् now tries to justify his objection in a different way. If ब्रह्मन् which is चेतन, शुद्ध and शब्दादिहीन, be assumed to be the प्रकृति of जगत् which is तद्विपरीत (i. e. अचेतन, अशुद्ध and शब्दादिमत) then it will have to be admitted that कार्य i. e. जगत् was not existent prior to its origination. But the वेदान्तिन् does not accept this view which is known as असत्कार्यवाद ; for he is a सत्कार्यवादिन्. Hence, says the पूर्वपक्षिन् at least to avoid असत्कार्यवादप्रसङ्ग one must give up चेतनकारणवाद.

सत्कार्यवाद् and **असत्कार्यवाद**:--Different answers are given to the question whether कार्य exists prior to its origination. The नैयायिकs and the वैशेषिकs hold that it does not exist while the सांख्यs and the वेदान्तिन्s hold the opposite view. The former view is known as the असत्कार्यवाद and those who hold it are called असत्कार्यवादिन्s ; while the latter is known as the सत्कार्यवाद and those who hold it are called सत्कार्यवादिन्s. The सत्कार्यवाद is upheld by the सांख्यs on several grounds stated in one कारिका as follows:—असदकरणादुपादानग्रहणात् सर्वसम्भवाभावात् । शक्तस्य शक्यकरणात् कारणभावच्च सत् कार्यम् ।। सांख्यकारिका, 8. Similar arguments have been put forth by शङ्कराचार्य also under ब्रह्मसूत्र II. 1. 18. Now according to असत्कार्यवाद the कार्य, beacuse it does not exist prior to origination, has to be undertaken and commenced. Hence this view is sometimes called आरम्भवाद. But according to सत्कार्यवाद the कार्य is already in existence, and as such what we are now to have is either a particular or a modified form(परिणाम) or merely an illusory appearance(विवर्त)of it. The former is the view held by the सांख्यs and विशिष्टाद्वैतिन्s and is known as परिणामवाद, while the latter, adopted by गौडपाद and शङ्कराचार्य, is called विवर्तवाद. क्षीर

turned into दधि is an illustration of the former, while रज्जु appearing as सर्प illustrates the latter.

l. 9 ff प्रतिषेधमात्रत्वात् etc. To appreciate the rejoinder of शङ्कराचार्य we must consider सत्कार्यवाद further. सर्प, which is a विवर्त on रज्जु, has in fact no separate existence of its own as apart from रज्जु at any point of time. Just as सर्प at the present moment exists only in and through रज्जु similarly even in the past it can be said to have existed like that. As for independent existence apart from रज्जु the सर्प is simply incapable of it, whether in the past or at present or in the future. Thus if you look at it as being one with कारण, the कार्य exists at all points of time. But if you view it as apart from कारण (कारणव्यतिरेक) it is असत् not only prior to origination but even after it. There is, therefore, no point inurging that कार्य would be असत् prior to origination. Where would be t .e point in saying that वन्ध्यापुत्र did not exist prior to his birth ? वन्ध्यापुत्र is a nonentity. What would you say to one who declares that सर्प was not there prior to origination ? In fact even after that so-called origination it is not there ! It is the रज्जु that exists and not the सर्प. सर्प exists only as रज्जु. And this existence the सर्प has at all points of time. This shows that nothing can be denied by denying existence to कार्य prior to its origination. For as being one with कारण it can't be denied to it, while as कार्य there is no point in denying it only at a particular point of time. For it is non-existent at all the three points of time. This view about complete dependence of कार्य on its कारण for its existence is supported by an Upaniṣadic passage which says that ' anything which one thinks is and stands distinct and separate from आत्मन्, will run away from him.' This is naturally so because apart from आत्मन् nothing has an independent existence.

P. 53 l. 8 कार्यकारणानन्यत्ववादे i. e. in the तदनन्यत्वाधिकरण (ब्रह्मसूत्र II 1. 14-20) below. l. 9 तद्वत्प्रसङ्ग It must be observed that the पूर्वपक्षिन् has made an effort to pick holes in the चेतनकारणवाद by adducing what he has himself called तद्वत्प्रसङ्ग in various ways: (i) कार्यस्य कारणवत्प्रसङ्गः ।; (ii) कारणस्य कार्यवत्प्रसङ्गः ।; (iii) मुक्तांना बद्धवत्प्रसङ्गः ।; and (iv) अपीतेः स्थितिवत्प्रसङ्गः ।. l. 10f यदि स्थौल्यसावयवत्व etc. The पूर्वपक्षिन् first of all points out how the गुणs of the कार्य (i. e. जगत्) are just contradictory to those of the

कारण(i.e.ब्रह्मन्)and concludes that when the जगत् merges back into ब्रह्मन् at the time of अपीति and thus becomes one with it, it will spoil ब्रह्मन् with its own धर्मs. वाचस्पतिमिश्र has very well illustrated this तद्वत्प्रसङ्ग by an illustration from every day life Cf 'यथा हि यूषादिषु हिङ्गुसैन्धवादीनामविभागलक्षणो लयः स्वगतरसादिभिर्यूषं रूषयत्येवं ब्रह्माणि विशुद्ध्यादिधर्मणि जगल्लीयमानमविभागं गच्छद् ब्रह्म स्वधर्मेण रूषयेत् न चान्यथा लयो लोकसिद्धः इति भावः।

P. 54 l. 4f अपि च etc. Here शङ्कराचार्य is pointing out another तद्वत्प्रसङ्ग. At the time of अपीति the कार्य becomes one with कारण and thus all विभाग merges back into unity; and there is no factor left which will account for the subsequent creation with its divisions of भोक्तृ, भोग्य etc. Thus the जगत् (i.e. कार्य) in the absence of the विभाग would naturally be like (ब्रह्मन् i.e. कारण). But this is absurd and unacceptable. **l. 6f. अपि च** etc. This is the next तद्वत्प्रसङ्ग. After all have merged back into ब्रह्मन् and have become one with it, nothing—not even कर्म etc.—can be said to have a separate existence. And if it is presumed that the subsequent creation comes into being even in the absence of कर्मादिs (which are assumed to be the निमित्त of संसार) even मुक्तs(liberated souls) will have to be assumed as being subject to पुनरुत्पत्ति. For पुनरुत्पत्ति, on the above assumption, is निर्निमित्ता and hence it can't be restricted only to those who are not मुक्त. But it is absurd to conclude that even मुक्तs are subject to पुनरुत्पत्ति; for then the term मुक्त will have no sense at all! **l. 8f. अथेदं जगत्** etc. But if to avoid all these absurdities it is assumed that जगत् stands distinct and sepaerate from ब्रह्मन् even in अपीति, then there would be no अपीति at all in real sense of the term. For such an assumption runs counter to the very signification of the term अपीति. Such an assumption is inadmissible for one more reason viz. that according to it we have to assume that कार्य can stand distinct and separate from its कारण which it can never do. कार्यकारणानन्यत्वन्याय discussed by the सूत्रकार in a subsequent अधिकरण (the तदनन्यत्वाधिकरण) makes it quite clear that कार्य is completely dependent on the कारण for its existence; and can, at no point of time, have a separate and independent existence of its own apart fram its कारण. All these absurdities, as can be easily seen, arise out of the चेतनकारणवाद which, therefore, should be rejected.

P. 55 l. 3 The following सूत्र is a rejoinder to the तद्वत्प्रसङ्गs urged againt चेतनकारणवाद in the preceding सूत्र. The main point of the reply is that there are instances to show that तद्वत्प्रसङ्ग does not arise even when the कार्य merges into the कारण. l. 6 f सन्ति हि दृष्टान्ता: etc. It should be observed that शङ्कराचार्य has adduced three illustrations: (i) शरावादिs which are the products of earth (मृद्) and have a great diversity, comprising high, low and mediocre types, do not affect their कारण, the clay, with their धर्मs after they have merged therin. (ii) The same holds good in the case of रुचकादिs which are the product of सुवर्ण. (*iii*) पृथिवीविकार i. e. the चतुर्विध भूतग्राम is found to merge back into its कारण (i. e. the earth). But it does not thereon contaminate the earth with its धर्म. The भूतग्राम (चतुर्विध i e. जारज, अण्डज, स्वेदज and उद्भिज्ज) is, therefore, the third illustration in point. l. 11 f. स्वत्पक्षस्य तु etc. The पूर्वपक्ष view, however, has no दृष्टान्त to uphold it. For if, as is urged by the पूर्वपक्षिन्, the कार्य retains its धर्मs while remaining in the कारण it can't be said to have merged into it. Such a state is far from being अपीति which requires a thorough merging of the कार्य into the कारण.

P. 56 l. 2f अनन्यत्वेऽपि etc. This sentence further explains how though कार्य becomes one with कारण, yet कारण is not affected by कार्यधर्मs. कार्यकारणानन्यत्ववाद, already explained above, shows that कारण (i. e. मृद्) is the पारमार्थिक स्वरूप of कार्य (i. e, घटादिs) and not vice versa. Hence naturally कार्य, when it becomes one with कारण, gives up its आरोपित स्वरूप and merges into the कारण with its परमार्थिक स्वरूप only. रजत, for example. merges into शुक्ति not with its रजतत्व but as divested of its रजतत्व. Thus अपीति or complete merging of the कार्य into its कारण necessarly means a complete removal of the कार्यधर्मs form the कार्य. Hence if कार्यधर्मs are retained by the कार्य there can be no अपीति at all in the real sense of the term. l. 3 ff अत्यल्पं चेदमुच्यते etc. In these lines शङ्कराचार्य points out that the प्रसङ्ग viz. कार्य affecting the कारण with its धर्मs should apply not only to अपीति but even to स्थिति. For whether in अपीति or in स्थिति the relation between कार्य and कारण is unchanged. कार्य is always अनन्य from its कारण and even in स्थिति as in अपीति the same प्रसङ्ग might be urged. The पूर्वपाक्षिन has unnecessarily restricted his objection to अपीति only. श्रुतिs declare कार्य as being अनन्य from कारण without

any reference to any particular point of time. l. 10 । तत्र यः परिहारः etc. Here it is shown that just as in स्थिति the प्रसङ्ग is refuted by showing that कार्य and its धर्मs are only a fabrication of nescience and hence leave the कारण unaffected, similarly it may be refuted with reference to अपीति.

P. 57 l. 1ff अस्ति चायमपरो दृष्टान्तः etc. In the following lines शङ्कराचार्य has put forth two more दृष्टान्तs to prove his contention viz. that कार्य does not affect कारण with its धर्म in अपीति (or in fact in any state) though it is अनन्य with it. First he gives the illustration of a मायाविन् and his माया. The latter being अवस्तु has no capacity to affect the former at any point of time, inspite of the fact that it is अनन्य from the मायाविन्. Second दृष्टान्त is that of the dreaming soul (स्वप्नदृक्) who is not in the least affected by the स्वप्नदर्शनमाया which has no existence beyond the स्वप्न either in प्रबोध or in सम्प्रसाद. On the basis of these two illustrations शङ्कराचार्य concludes that परमात्मा is not affected by the संसारमाया at any point of time and also that the soul, who is अवस्थात्रयसाक्षी and as such persisting in all the अवस्थाs (viz. जाग्रत , स्वप्न, सुषुप्ति) without exception, is not affected by the अवस्थाs which are mutually exclusive. For, this appearance of परमात्मन् in the three अवस्थाs is only माया or आरोपित स्वरूप (and not his पारमार्थिक स्वरूप) just like the appearance of रज्जु in the form of सर्प etc.

In connection with these दृष्टान्तs it must be observed that these have been added py शङ्कराचार्य in addition to those given in the beginning. It must also be noted that the दृष्टान्तs of मृद् and घटशरावादि or of सुवर्ण and रुचकादिs adduced above are more in keeping with the दृष्टान्तs given in the छान्दोग्य उपनिषद् to illustrate the idea of एकविज्ञानेन सर्वविज्ञानम्. It is generally believed that these दृष्टान्तs are favourable to परिणामवाद as opposed to शङ्कराचार्य's विवर्तवाद ; and hence it is that शङ्कराचार्य felt like adducing other दृष्टान्तs more favourable to his view. This, in other words, is tantamount to saying that the उपनिषद्s (and also the ब्रह्मसूत्रs) favour the परिणामवाद and not the विवर्तवाद, and that शङ्कराचार्य is fathering his विवर्तवाद on them. Thus on the basis of some such passages in his ब्रह्मसूत्र-भाष्य (particularly the उत्सूत्र भाष्यs) it is often said that शङ्कराचार्य is not quite faithful to the सूत्रकार. A persual of the छान्दोग्य passage referred to above will, however, show that it quite

plainly states that behind all diversity of घट, शराव, etc. there is only one truth, the unity viz. the मृद् (and nothing else, as is shown by the expression एव in मृत्तिकेत्येव सत्यम्). This means that विकार is only a name having its beginning only in speech. (cf. वाचारम्भणं विकारो नामधेयं मृत्तिकेत्येव सत्यम्). This means that विकार is at the core (or in reality or तात्त्विकेन रूपेण) nothing but प्रकृति and that as विकार it is only a name, (i. e. something which has no substance of its own). If परिणामवाद is intended, then the परिणामs will have to be assumed, as being real; and in that case it would be difficult to see how एकविज्ञान (i. e. perception of one thing) would result in सर्वविज्ञान (i. e. perception of all others) if they are real and substantial, घटादिs will be known only as मृद् or मृत्तिका but that will not constitute सर्वविज्ञान if घट etc. are real परिणामs. If, however, they are only आरोपित रूपs, then it means that they also are मृत्तिका and nothing else; and hence it is that मृत्तिकाज्ञान will constitute the ज्ञान of घटादिs also which are nothing but मृत्तिका. It may thus be seen that, if rightly understood, the छान्दोग्य passage and the दृष्टान्तs there are favourable not to परिणामवाद but to विवर्तवाद only. It would not, therefore, be right to accuse शङ्कराचार्य, at least so far as that particular छान्दोग्य passage and the present अधिकरण are concerned, of having fathered his views on the सूत्रकार.

P. 57 l. 6f वेदान्तार्थसम्प्रदायविद्भिराचार्यैः The आचार्य referred to here is गौडपादाचार्य, the famous author of the कारिकाs on the माण्डूक्योपनिषत् . He is said to be the परमगुरु (grand preceptor) of शङ्कराचार्य. It may be observed that though शङ्कराचार्य is often described as being a *Crypto-Buddhist* because his मायावाद is perilously similar to Buddhistic idealism or विज्ञानवाद. He is also said to be the promulgator of the मायावाद. It must, however be remembered that the expression माया is old as the ऋग्वेद and that the doctrine of माया has been expounded before शङ्कराचार्य by गौडपाद in his कारिकाs on the माण्डूक्योपनिषत्. Here शङ्कराचार्य is quoting the authority of this गौडपाद declaring thereby that whateverc he is asserting here has the support, not only of an ancient authority but also of tradition (सम्प्रदाय).

l. 8 f. अनादिमायया etc. This is the sixteenth verse from the आगमप्रकरण of गौडपादकारिका. In this exposition of the 7th section of the माडूक्योपनिषत्, गौडपाद explains the ideas of निद्रा and स्वप्न of the जीव, and adds that when these (i. e. निद्रा and स्वप्न) are

removed, the जीव realises the तुरीय पद. निद्रा thus means *non-realisation of* तत्त्व (तत्त्वाप्रतिबोध) and स्वप्न means *wrong perception* (अन्यथाग्रहण). In the present कारिका the जीव is referred to as सुप्त (asleep) on account of अनादिमाया. It is, therefore, clear that माया, which is described here as अनादि, is the निद्रा (sleep) which is to be understood as covering deep sleep and also dream. Now what गौडपाद is stating here is that when जीव wakes up from his deep sleep brought on him by अनादि माया, he realises the अद्वैत (non-duality) which is free from निद्रा and स्वप्न (as described above) and which is as such, अज. This very well supports the last दृष्टान्त adduced by शङ्कराचार्य, and the remark that has passed in that connection. [गौडपाद's work has four sections called प्रकरणs, named आगम, वैतथ्य, अद्वैत and अलातशान्ति respectively. Of these the आगमप्रकरण is an exposition of the माण्डूक्योपनिषत् section by section. According to some scholars the कारिकाs are the original work and the उपनिषत् itself is an exposition of those कारिकाs. Such a view, however, cannot be easily accepted. It is remarkable that गौडपाद has freely and frequently used not only Buddhistic ideas and arguments but even Buddhistic terms and expressions. There can be no doubt, however that he is not a Buddhist but a वेदान्तिन्].

l. 10f. तत्र यदुक्तम् etc. Such being the case, the तद्वत्प्रसङ्गः (viz. कारणस्य कार्यवत्प्रसङ्गः) has no ground to stand on. l. 11 f. यत् पुनरेतदुक्तम् etc. Nor does the second तद्वत्प्रसङ्ग fare better. For it is well-known that in सुषुप्ति, समाधि and such other states there is स्वाभाविकी अविभागप्राप्ति and yet out of that very अविभागावस्था there does arise विभाग as before as soon as there is wakefulness. The reason for this is the non-sublation of मिथ्याज्ञान which serves to account for विभागोत्पत्ति. This can very well explain how even after अपीति, विभागेन उत्पत्ति can spring up since मिथ्याज्ञान is not as yet sublated. The explanation finds support in a passage from the छान्दोग्य उपनिषत् which is quoted by शङ्कराचार्य.

P. 58 l. 2f. यथा हि etc. परमात्मन् is अविभाग and yet during स्थिति we find that on this परमात्मन् is going on continuously the विभागव्यवहार which is, of course, caused by and based on मिथ्याज्ञान. What is true of स्थिति, may equally well be said of अपीति. For the अविभागावस्था of परमात्मन् or ब्रह्मन् is a matter not of this or that particular point of time. It is a permanent feature. Therefore,

what explains the प्रसङ्ग in स्थिति can explain it during अपीति also. For, the प्रसङ्ग, if at all it is there, is for all points of time. l. 9f. एतेन मुक्तानां etc. When it is pointed out that विभागेन उत्पत्ति can spring up because मिथ्याज्ञान is not yet sublated, it is easy to see that when मिथ्याज्ञान is sublated there will be no such उत्पत्ति. Now it is known that मिथ्याज्ञान in the case of मुक्तs is sublated. Hence it follows that there will be no पुनरुत्पत्तिप्रसङ्ग for them. l. 10 f. यः पुनरयमन्ते etc. शङ्कराचार्य does not take any pains to refute the last प्रसङ्ग pointed out by the पूर्वपक्षिन्. He merely points out that it is based on our assumption which has never been accepted by the वेदान्तिन्. Thus any objection or contingency that is thus ill-founded topples down of itself and needs no further refutation. l. 12 तस्मात् etc. Having thus refuted all the objections againt the चेतनकारणवाद preached by the उपनिषत्s, शङ्कराचार्य is now in a position to declare that the औपनिषद् दर्शन (i. e. the ब्रह्मकारणवाद) is quite sound and correct,

No. 6

Kādambarī (Paras 80-83).

A General Note :—Sanskrit Literature has developed two kinds of *Prose Romance* known by the names of *kathā* and *ākhyāyikā*. The theory of the Indian Romance originating and developing under Greek influence has been long exploded and need not detain us here. We may, however, consider in brief the problem of distinction between the two varieties of the Indian Romance noticed above

There are two different views on this point held by Sanskrit rhetoricians. Thus Daṇḍin (the author of the *Kāvyādarśa)* holds that there is no distinction between the two and that they are merely two names of one and the same literary form. Bhāmaha, Rudrata and others have tried to find out points of distinction between these types; but the points of distinction discovered by them cannot be said to be quite definite and distinctive. The only important point of distinction between the two appears to be caught by the *Amarakośa* which holds that *ākhyāyikā* is based on historical or traditional facts while *kathā* is mainly imaginary. In the opinion of Bāṇa himself, however the former is comparable to a charming and pleasant bed while the latter is more charming still and comparable to the sweetheart approaching her lover with the sentiment of love reigning supreme in her heart. The main points of distinction between the two according to Bāṇa appear to be that the *ākhyāyikā* is divided into *ucchvāsas*, does not so much abound in śleṣa and *utprekṣā* and is less fanciful and therefore more historical (or rather traditional) in its subject-matter, while *kathā* is prevaded by paronomasia and several other figures of speech with the poet's fancy let loose striking the reader with its lofty flights.

Bāṇa's *Kādambarī* is thus a *kathā*. It contains the story of a prince through more births than one, and bears a very close resemblance to the story of Somaprabha and Makarandikā in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* of Somadeva. Neither of them can, however, be said to have borrowed the story from the other; and we may rightly conclude that they have both drawn upon

some common source, which may be identified with the *Bṛhatkathā* (a work in *Paiśācī*) of Guṇāḍhya.

Bāṇa is known to be the author of the two romances, the *Kādambarī* and the *Harṣacarita*, a poem viz. *Caṇḍīśataka* and a play called the *Pārvatī-pariṇaya*. There are other works like the *Śivastuti* (a poem) and *Śāradacandrikā* (a play) ascribed to him. Besides these the *Ratnāvalī* (a play) was also once said to have been composed by him for his patron. We cannot, however, be sure of his authorship of any other work except the two romances. And as regards the *Kādambarī* it has further to be observed that Bāṇa did not live long enough to complete it and that it was then carried to completion by his worthy son *Bhuṣaṇa* or Punlina or Pulinda as the name is (sometimes said to be). The *pūrva* and the *uttara bhāgas* are from the pens of the father and the son respectively.

Coming now to the merits and defects of Bāṇa as an artist it may be observed that inspite of his excellences he has often been very strongly accused of grave defects such as out of the-way words, long sentences and involved constructions, too much of description with too little of action, excess of details (otherwise described as 'losing sight of the wood for the trees') the box like arrangement of the plot in which (as in the *Pañca tantra)* stories are intricately mingled one within the other and appear to be so many boxes arranged one with the other in the descending order of their dimensions. But this should not blind us to Bāṇa's merits such as his mastery over language, almost inexhaustible fund of vocabulary, capacity to mingle sound and sense, keen observation and the consequent mastery of description, flights of imagination and hence a rich variety of *alaṁkāras* and fancies, skill in managing a very intricate plot (and also the sub-plot), power of portraying life-like characters, not to speak of the very fine and thought-provoking ideas on different aspects of our every day life which we come across almost on every page of his work. It must also be remembered that some of the defects in Bāṇa noted above were actually demanded of and were deemed not defects but excellences in any good prose work. This takes the sting out of those accusations hurled at Bāṇa and moreover, Bāṇa hos not failed to strew his work

with prose of a rich variety such as *muktaka* and *padya-gandhi* showing clearly that his pen had the same ease in the composition of any variety of prose from the gaudiest to the simplest. Nor should we pass unnoticed the peculiarity of the box arrangement of Bāṇa. The stories of the *Pañcatantra*, arranged box within box as they are not yet inseparably glued together. In the *Kādambarī*, on the other hand, even the smallest, the innermost box of Bāṇa's story, we can ill-afford to lose without causing damage to the whole structure. Bāṇa's skill in the use of the box arrangment lies in this new feature that he has introduced therein. In short, Bāṇa's work may be compared to a nut which is hard to crack indeed, but once cracked it is also sweet to eat. It can be enjoyed, of course, only by those who have the strength to break through the hard shell and penetrate to the kernel.

Bāṇa's date is almost certain. For his patron, Emperor Harṣa (the hero of *Bāṇa's Harṣacarita*) is known to have ruled from 606 to 648 A. D. Among the authors quoting from or referring to Bāṇa we find Vāmana, (the author of the *Kāvyālaṁkāra-sūtravṛtti*) belonging to the latter half of the 8th century A. D. Bāṇa himself, on the other hand has referred to Kalidasa, Bhāsa, Aḍhyarāja, Pravarasena and other Sanskrit writers of great fame. We can, therefore, without much hesitation assign Bāṇa to the early decades of the 7th century A. D.

The present extract (comprising paras 80-83 of Dr. Peterson's edition) describes in a beautiful style inlaid with all the merits and defects of Bāṇa's style, Candrāpīḍa's return from the *Vidyāgṛha* after the completion of his studies and the hurry and the worry of the ladies of the capital vividly enriched by the soaring flights of Bāṇa's imagination and mastery over languags and sense. For a similar description, but much simpler and shorter, the reader may refer to Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa*, Canto VII. 5-11 and *Kumāra-sambhava*, Canto VII. 56-62.

Notes

P. 59 l. 1 समासादितविग्रहमिव अनङ्गम् etc. God of Love at the command of इन्द्र tried to strike with his shaft god शिव who was practising penance. शिव was slightly affected. But before he was completely overpowered, he gathered himself and finding

that मदन was the source of the विकृति, opened his third eye in wrath and burnt मदन to ashes with the fire blazing forth from it. Thus it was that मदन lost his body and hence got the name अनङ्ग. This incident has been very effectively described by कालिदास in his कुमारसंभव. Cf. क्रोधं प्रभो संहर संहरेति यावद् गिरः खे मरुतां चरन्ति । तावन् स वह्निर्भवनेत्रजन्मा भस्मावशेषं मदनं चकार ॥ कुमार० IV. 72. Now when people looked at चन्द्रापीड, they felt as if अनङ्ग had regained his body (विग्रह) and was appearing before them again. l. 1f नगरमार्गमनु० It is to be noted that चन्द्रापीड was staying with his preceptors in the विद्यागृह specially erected for him by तारापीड, his father, outside the city; and was now entering the city after the completion of his studies. l. 2 रजनिकरोदयप्रतिबुध्यमान० This fancy is based on the poetical convention (कविसङ्केत) that कुमुद्s (dark lotuses) bloom at the rise of the moon. The idea is that people became happy at चन्द्रापीड's sight. For this कविसङ्केत cf. कुमुदान्येव शशाङ्कः सविता बोधयति पङ्कजान्येव। शाकु० V. 28. l. 3 समजनि Aor. 3rd sg of सम् + √ जन 4 A. l. 4 कार्तिकेयः Son of the कृत्तिकाs, a constellation having six constituent stars. This has given him the name षाण्मातुरः He is the son of शिव. The story of his birth forms the subject-matter of a महाकाव्य (an epic) from the pen of कालिदास. He is known as कुमार and has six mouths. These two facts about him have been utilised by बाण to indulge in a poetical fancy showing how people in the city thought चन्द्रापीड to be superior to कार्तिकेय. l. 3f सत्यास्मिन् संप्रति etc. कार्तिकेय and चन्द्रापीड both share the title कुमार, the former as one of his appellations, and the latter as an epithet meaning prince. But what a vast gulf is there between the two! The latter is समासादितविग्रह अनङ्ग while the former bears a good contrast to him since his figure is deformed by a cluster of his six faces. Now when a handsome prince like चन्द्रापीड bears the name or title कुमार, is it not mere mockery that the same name कुमार should apply to a very ugly looking person that कार्तिकेय is with his cluster of faces! Commentators explain the word कुमार as (i) कौ (i. e. (पृथिव्यां) मारः (i. e. मदनः), as applied to चन्द्रापीड, and (ii) कुत्सितान (i. e. दुष्टान्) मारयति इति, as applied to कार्तिकेय. This explanation, however, is far-fetched and unnecessary. कालिदास has utilised common epithets like राम and शतक्रतु to create interesting situations. Cf. अन्यदा जगति राम इत्ययं शब्द उच्चरित एव मामगात्। व्रीडमावहति मे स संप्रति व्यस्तवृत्तिरुदयोन्मुखे त्वयि ॥ रघु० XI, 73. Also cf. रघु० III. 49; and XI.

68. l. 5 असानुषी Superhuman (अतिमानुषी). l. 6 अनिवारिताः Un-warded, unhindered. Generally when a prince or a king moves out, streets are cleared off by the officers going in his front This is called उत्सारणा. But in the present case nothing like that is being done. This is the peculiar feature of this procession. l. 7 जन्मवत्ता = जन्म. रूपान्तरधारिणे is explained by चन्द्रापीडच्छद्मने. The other form (रूपान्तर) assumed by पुण्डरीकेक्षण (the lotus-eyed i. e. विष्णु) is the guise (छद्मन) of चन्द्रापीड. l. 8f सर्वतश्च समुपावृत etc. This sentence contains a fine उत्प्रेक्षा. Panels (कपाटपुट) of thousands of windows were opened (समुपावृत which more correctly should be समपावृत) and hence these windows had now become प्रकट (i. e clearly perceptible as windows). It is easily seen that windows cannot be clearly noticed as such if the panels of their doors are closed As soon as they open, one easily becomes conscious of their existence. Now बाण proceeds to spin out his fancy. He says : As चन्द्रापीड was coming up, not only the नगरलोक were eager to see him. Their eagerness, was shared by the नगर also. [Here it may be noted that नगर is personified]. Now just as people had their eyes उत्तानित with कुतूहल similarly the नगर also had opened wide its eyes with कुतूहल. And these eyes are the windows. [It must be observed that just as eyes are high up in the body, so also these windows are high up in houses. This is why windows can easily be fancied as eyes). The कपाटपुट in this sentence are not the doors of the houses, as Dr. Kane and others would take it. They are the doors of the windows. It is the opening of these कपाटपुटs that makes the windows प्रकट This is how the expression can be properly understood. Otherwise it becomes redundant and useless. For समुपावृत can go with कपाटपुट as well as वातायन and thus there is no need for a separate expression (as प्रकट has been interpreted) referring to the opening of वातायनs.

P. 60 l. 1 समाप्तसकलविद्य. who has completed (his study of) all the lores. The number of विद्याs varies between one and eighteen according to different authorities. Generally, however, the number is said to be fourteen. Cf. पुराणन्यायमीमांसाधर्मशास्त्राङ्गमिश्रिताः । वेदाः स्थानानि विद्यानां धर्मस्य च चतुर्दश ॥ याज्ञ० I. 3. The number eighteen is obtained by adding four more (viz. आयुर्वेद, धनुर्वेद, गान्धर्ववेद and अर्थशास्त्र) to these. बाण in one place has given us the

names of विद्याs and कलाs in a long list without, however making any attempt to distinguish the former from the latter. His view about the exact number of विद्याs is, therefore, not quite clear. Perhaps he never meant to emphasize any definite number and used the expression सकल which would agree with any view regarding the number of विद्याs. **विद्यागृह** The house of learning. In one of the earlier paragraphs बाण has told us how तारापीड had a विद्यागृह specially constructed for चन्द्रापीड and how bringing together सर्वविद्याचार्यs he entrusted to their care चन्द्रापीड together with वैशम्पायन and went out to see him every day. ससम्भ्रमम् ind. goes with आरुरुहुः उत्सृष्टार्धपरिसमाप्त I. 3 etc. This idea is illustrated in the various expressions and sections that follow, showing how ladies actually left their toilet half done. It must be obsreved that बाण has in this description given full play to this fancy and thus given us various fanciful and picturesque ideas while vividly describing the ladies in their haste. कालिदास has given us a fine description of this type in रघु० VII. 5-11 and कुमार० VII. 56-62. I. 8. **वामकरतलगतदर्पणाः** etc. The beautiful ladies are compared to the bright full-moon night, and the mirrors in their hands are the shining full orb of the moon. I. 5. **आर्द्रालक्तकरस** etc. The feet of the ladies are like lotuses and are painted with the अलक्तक dye. बाण fancies that the ladies are like नलिनीs (lotus--creepers), the lotuses on which have drunk the young morning sun-shine (which makes them red like the painted feet of the ladies). **सन्दान** Fettering, tying. **नलिन्यः** I and **करिण्यः** It may be observed by the by that according to सामुद्रिकशास्त्र there are four different classes of women viz. पद्मिनी (= नलिनी), हस्तिनी (= करिणी), चित्रिणी and शङ्खिनी. Of these the first and the second are covertly referred to here. I. 8. **इन्द्रायुध** etc. (i) इन्द्रायुधस्य राग इव रागो येषां तादृशानि रुचिराणि अम्बराणि धारयन्त्यः (with काश्चित् i. e. ladies) and (ii) इन्द्रायुधरागैः रुचिरम् अम्बरं धारयन्त्यः (with दिवसश्रियः). अम्बर (i) वस्त्राणि (ii) आकाशम्. I. 8. **धवलनखमयूख** etc. Bright tiny rays were shooting forth from the nails of the ladies. बाणभट्ट fancies that they are not rays but domestic swans attracted to the ladies by the jingling of their anklets. Clusters of bright rays are aptly fancied as white swans.

P. 61. I. 1 **काश्चित् पयोधरान्तराल** etc. Pearl-necklaces of some ladies had slipped between their breasts. The ladies are, there-

fore, compared to प्रदोषश्रियः (evening grandeur which also have pairs of चक्रवाक birds separated by a fine stream of clear water. The breasts of the ladies are like चक्रवाक couples separated by the pearl necklaces. l. 2 नूपुरमणिसमुत्थिते॰ The fancy here is somewhat like the one in P. 60 l. 9 above The jewels in the anklets are emitting rays of different colours giving the appearance of a rain--bow. As the ladies walk on, these rays also go after them. बाण fancies that these are not rays, but domestic pea-hens that were following the ladies owing to their परिचय with them. l. 3 मणिचषक A jewel goblet (of wine). मधु (i) wine (ii) honey. स्फुरितरागैः The natural redness (राग) of the lips (अधर) was enhanced or deepened by the effect of wine drunk by them, and it apperared as if their lips were dripping with drops of wine recently drunk by them. l. 5 मरकतवातायन etc. The windows were studded with emerald (मरकत). The ladies were putting their faces out of these windows. It has also to be noted that these windows are on high. The मरकत windows and the faces resemble lotus-leaves and lotuses respectively. The bevy of ladies thus situated is, therefore, aptly fancied as a lotus-pond with full--blown lotuses, moving in (or situated in) the sky.

This paragraph is one long sentence. भूषणानिनादः उदपाद is the main part of the sentence. The other expressions in the paragraph give us further details about the निनाद. P. 61. l. 7 सरभस etc. सरभसात् संचलनात् जन्म यस्य असौ. The भूषणनिनाद arose on account of the hurried movements of the ladies. मधुरसारणा etc. मधुरया सारणया आस्फालितानां वीणानां कोलाहलेन (or कोलाहलवत्) बहलः It is, of course, better to explain the compound as तृतीया तत्पुरुष rather than कर्मधारय. For in all the sections in this paragraph the भूषणनिनाद is described as being mixed up with some other sounds. सारणा is a technical term which is defiend as 'आरोहणावरोहणसाधनभेदः स्वरश्रुतीनां यः। ग्रामाविशेषाभिव्यक्त्यर्थः सा सारणा ज्ञेया ॥' सारणा is thus a means for achieving the rise and fall of the स्वरs and the श्रुतिs in music ultimately resultiug in a particular ग्राम. The expression is also explained as 'string', (भानु॰) or ' playing on the lute ' (D) l. 8. रसनारवाहूत etc. रसानया (of the girdle) रवेण आहुतानां गृहसारसानां रसितेन (chirping) संभिन्नः (mingled). We have already come across the idea of नूपुररवाकृष्टगृहकलहंसकs above. स्खलितैः चरणतलैः ताडितात् सोपानात् जातेन गम्भीरध्वनिना प्रहृष्टाः तेषाम्

P. 62 l. 1 अवरोधशिखण्डिनाम् of peacocks in the harem. The faltering steps on the stairs created a rumbling sound (गम्भीरध्वनि) which was mistaken by the अवरोधशिखण्डिन्s for thundering clouds and hence they were overjoyed. The idea of pea-cocks being overjoyed at the thundering is often met with in Sanskrit literature. l. 1 केकारव The sound of a pea-cock's note. नवजलधर० Here we have another idea equally common in Sanskrit literature Cf. आ कैलासाद् बिसकिसलयच्छेदपाथेयवन्तः सम्पत्स्यन्ते नभसि भवतो राजहंसाः सहायाः ।। मेघ० At the advent of rain the हंसs are said to fly away to the मानस lake from where they return in autum. It should be noted that this fact about swans and also the fact about peacocks noted above are facts of nature and not mere poetical conventions. l. 2 मकरध्वजस्य (i.e. मदनस्य) विजयघोषणामनुकरोतीति तादृशः । अनु + √कृ 8 U. To resemble, imitate. l. 3 परस्परं विघट्टनेन आरणिताः तारतराः हारमणयः यासां तासां (रमणीनाम्). तारतर Very big or highly pure. तार meaning high is generally used with reference to sound. It may, therefore, be taken to mean *'big'* when applied to हारमणिs. अमर however, gives तार as a synonym for *purity of a pearl.* Cf. 'मुक्ताशुद्धौ तु तारः स्यात्'. तारतर should, therefore mean *'very pure'*. The तरप here has the sense of अतिशय and not comparison. This paragraph is a fine illustration of बाण's mastery over sound effect.

The verb बभूव at the end of the first sentence in this paragraph is to be supplied with proper modification in each section. The affix मयट् (i.e. मय) is added to nouns in the senses of *'made up of'* or *'mostly consisting of'*. In the present paragraph it is used in the former sense. P. 62 l. 5 निरन्तरता Being closely studded together without any intervening space. l. 6 पदकमलविन्यास Planting of lotus-like foot-step. पदानि कमलानि इव तेषां विन्यासैः. This is an उपमा and not a रूपक, since विन्यास primarily agrees with पद (the उपमेय) and not कमल (the उपमान). लावण्य is defined as ' मुक्ताफलेषु च्छायास्तरलत्वामिवान्तरा । प्रतिभाति यदङ्गेषु तल्लावण्यमिहोच्यते । ' i. e. Brilliance of complexion flashing like that of pearls. l. 7 चन्द्रबिम्बमयमिव Round beautiful faces are often compared with the full moon. Similarly the comparison of करतलं with कमल is quite frequently met with. l. 8 दिक्चक्रवाल = दिङ्मण्डल. cf. ' चक्रवालं तु मण्डलम्' अमर. l. 9 आभरणांशुकलापेन the rays shooting forth from the (various kinds of jewels in the) ornaments are

naturally multi-coloured and hence give an impression of the rain-bows. (इन्द्रायुध) cf. page 80, line 7f above. l. 9 लोचनमयूख etc. The eyes of the (beautiful) ladies are dark. The rays shooting forth from them are, therefore, supposed to be of the same colour and are, because of their charm, compared to patals of dark lotuses.

P. 63 l. 1 आदर्शमयानिव etc. चन्द्रापीड entered their hearts i. e. made a deep impression on them. Such phenomenon we can observe in the case of आदर्श (mirror), सलिल (water , or स्फटिक (crystal) which are capable of receiving impressions or reflections of things before them. Now as the hearts of the ladies received impressions of चन्द्रापीड, they are here fancied to be made up of mirrors, or water or crystal.

This paragraph bears testimony to बाण's mastery over vocabulary as also his keen observation of human nature. विस्रम्भ confindence. ईर्ष्या = परोत्कर्षासहिष्णुत्वम्, jealousy. अभ्यसूया = गुणेषु दोषाविष्करणम् , envy. उत्प्रास = उपहास according to हलायुध. सोत्प्रासम् would then mean सोपहासम् i. e. ironical, full of ridicule. This is better than the explanation given by the commentator who takes उत्प्रास to mean वितर्क (conjecture). विलास is defined as ' विलासोऽङ्गे विशेषो यः प्रियाप्तावासनादिषु । '. This is considered as one of the ten हावs roused by the sentiment of love. Cf. भरत's नाट्यशास्त्र, 22, 12-13. l. 5f उन्मत्ते the lady is so called because she has let her upper garment slip off its proper position which a lady ordinarily would not allow to happen. उत्तरीय corresponds to what we call पदर in मराठी. l. 6 आननावलम्बिनी often we see young girls letting some hair hang loose on their face and cheeks. अलकलता a small bunch or tuft of hair, बट in मराठी. l. 6 मूढे the lady is called मूढ (a fool) since she is not removing the hair which are obstructing her sight. l. 6f. चन्द्रलेखा is an ornament resembling the crescent moon. This ornament is worn at the top of the forhead just below the hair. l. 7 पतसि present tense is used here in the sense of *near future* according to the सूत्र ' वर्तमानसामीप्ये वर्तमानवद्वा । ' अष्टा० III. 3. 131. l. 7 मदनान्धे the lady is already blinded by मदन; and if she allows the चन्द्रलेखा to slip down on her eyes she would fare worse. Hence the suggestion that she should lift up the चन्द्रलेखा to its proper position. l. 8 केशपाश Beautiful traces of hair. Cf. ' पाशः पक्षश्च हस्तश्च कलापार्थाः

कचात् परे।' अमर० This is a कर्मधारय compound formed according to the सूत्र 'प्रशंसावचनैश्च।' अष्टा० II. 1 66. l. 7 निश्चेतन who has lost all consciousness, who has become senseless. l. 8 व्यसन (व्यस्यति श्रेयोमार्गात् इति) That which takes one of the proper path, a vice, a bad habit. l. 9 दोलायित Past. Pass. Part. of दोलाय्, (Denom. from दोला a swing). This is क्यङ् formation according to the सूत्र 'कर्तुः क्यङ् सलोपश्च।' अष्टा० III. 1. 11, and is to be explained as दोला इव आचरति इति. कर्णपल्लव It was customary in ancient India to use flowers or tender sprouts as ear ornaments. पापे The कर्णपल्लव hanging on the cheek naturally obstructed the sight of some lady standing behind. She, therefore, in irritation curses the lady in her front as committing the sin of thwarting her pleasure. l. 9 दन्तपत्र An ear-ornament made of ivory. (दन्त = हस्तिदन्त). अहृदये The lady is so called because she has failed to notice that her दन्तपत्र had dropped down. This she would certainly have noticed if her heart had been all right. l. 10 स्थगय Imper. 2nd sg. of स्थग् 10 p. To cover, conceal. Cf. पराभ्यूहस्थानान्यपि तनुतराणि स्थगयति'. मालती० 1. 14.

P. 61 l. 4 दुकूलम् A silken garment. This word has given us the मराठी word लुगडें which, however, is used in the restricted sense of 'a woman's garment' only. l. 1 अलीकमुग्धे The lady is so called because she is pretending to be मुग्धा, thoguh in fact she also is as eager to have a look at चन्द्रापीड as the other ladies are. l. 2 दर्शनान्तरम् = दर्शनस्य अन्तरम् i. e. अवकाश, room or scope. कियत् adj. of quantity formed from किम् by affixing वतुप (= वत्) the व of which is changed to घ (= इय) cf. यत्तदेतेभ्यः परिमाणे वतुप्। किमिदम्भ्यो वो घः। अष्टा० VI 2.39-40. तरल = चञ्चल. अप + √ ईक्ष् 1 A. To pay heed to. l. 3 पिशाचि It may be obeserved that even now any one that is not neatly and tidily dressed is said to appear like a ghost (भूत in मराठी). राग Passion. l. 4 अनेकैः भङ्गिविकारैः (i. e. छलनविभ्रमैः) पूर्णा. भङ्गि Disguise, pretext. अकारणम् आयासितं हृदयं यया सा. अकारणम् in vain. For चन्द्रापीड is not going to be enticed and attracted to her by her guiles. The commentator understands this a bit differently. Cf. त्वमनेकभङ्गिपूर्णासीति ते सव्याजावलोकनाज्जानीमः। अत एवालं निजभावगोपनार्थं हृदयेनायासितेन। यथाभिलषितं पश्येति भावः।. This, however, does not do full justice to दुःखं जीवसि and hence not quit acceptable. l. 5 मिथ्याविनीते cf. अलीकमुग्धे above. l. 5 व्यपदेशेन वीक्षितैः Looking under some pretext. l. 6 यौवनशालिनि

(यौवनेनं शालते इति). This lady is pressing from behind against a lady in her front. This latter, therefore, irritated at the pressure exerted by her youthful breasts is rebuking the former. l. 6 मत्सारिणि The lady is so called because she is blocking the window all to her self and not allowing any one else to see through it. l. 7 एकाकिनी fem. of एकाकिन् formed from एक by affixing आकिनीत् (= आकिन्) to signify 'unaided, all alone.' Cf. एकादाकिनिच्चासहाये । अष्टा० V 3. 53. l. 8 उत्तरीयतां नयसि is idiomatic Sanskrit for उत्तरीयं करोषि. l. 9 गुरुजनसमक्षम्. In the presence of elderly persons. For young women folk of a household it was considered immodest to move about boldly and listlessly. l. 10 मुग्धे This lady is really मुग्धा (and not अलीकमुग्धा); for she does not even know that she should cover up the पुलकजालक which is betraying her. पुलक or रोमाञ्च is one of सात्त्विक भावs resulting from the feeling of love seated in the heart. Cf. 'स्वेदः स्तम्भोऽथ रोमाञ्चः स्वरभङ्गोऽथ वेपथुः । वैवर्ण्यमश्रुप्रलय इत्यष्टौ सात्त्विका मताः ।' l. 11 मध्यभाग waist. The lady is troubling her waist with various distortions of her limbs. वृथा in vain because inspite of her खेद, the lady is not going to achieve her heart's desire.

P. 65 l. 1 शून्यहृदये cf. अहृदये above. l. 2 अन्तःसङ्कल्प etc. अन्त सङ्कल्पेन रचितः समागमः तस्य सुखरसेन निमीलिते लोचने यस्याः सा ।. This lady is rightly asked to open eyes. For otherwise she would miss the opportunity of enjoying the actual sight of चन्द्रापीड, for the समागमसुख which is only imaginary. Is not a bird in the hand worth two in the bush ? l. 3 अनङ्गशरप्रहारमूर्च्छिते Note that this lady is already struck severely by the shafts of मदन. Her trouble would, therefore, naturally be enhanced if she exposes herself to the hot sun. Hence she is advised to put the skirts of her upper garment on her head to ward off the sun's rays. l. 4 सतीव्रतग्रहगृहीते = सतीव्रतम् एव ग्रहः तेन गृहीता, तस्याः सम्बुद्धिः । It may be remembered that when one fails to seize an opportunity offered to him, one is rebuked as being under the influence of evil spirit on stars. Here the lady in question is allowing the opportunity of seeing चन्द्रापीड to passaway unheeded. This shows why she is said to be ग्रहगृहीता; and evidently the ग्रह seizing her is the सतीव्रत which is at the root of her behaviour on this occasion. l. 5 वञ्चयसि लोचनयुगलम् You are depriving your eyes

of on apportunity by not looking at the sight of the worthy prince. The idea is : You have no right to deprive others of a good opportunity, whatever you may do to yourself. सतीव्रत The vow of a सती, a chaste woman. In ancient India a married woman was expected to avoid परपुरुषदर्शन. This constitutes the सतीव्रत. अधन्ये this व्रत has robbed her of a life's opportunity and hence the lady is called unfortunate (अधन्या). l. 6 साक्षादिव incarnate, in a bodily form as it were, (because as a matter of fact he is अनङ्ग (i. e bodiless). l. 7 मकरध्वज He i.e. मदन is so called because of his shark-banner. Here, however, is a मकरध्वज without a shark banner. रति is the name of मदन's wife. चन्द्रापीड was मदन incarnate as it were without his shark banner and unaccompanied by रति. l. 7f अयमस्य etc. Having thus far described the hurry and haste of the ladies and their mutual remarks, बाण now proceeds to describe how interested the ladies were in even the slightest movements on the part of चन्द्रापीड. बाण has by doing this shown his keen observation of human nature. सितातपत्रान्तरेण = सितस्य (white) आतपत्रस्य (=छत्रस्य) अन्तरेण. The आतपत्र of a king was always white. Cf. अदेयमासीत् त्रयमेव भूपतेः शशिप्रभं छत्रमुभे च चामरे । रघु० III. 16. अलिकुलनीले = अलीनां कुलम् इव नीले. The head is dark on account of dark hair. This sentence contains fine उत्प्रेक्षा mingled with the figure भ्रान्तिमान्. On the head, dark with hair, was to be seen a chaplet of the white मालती flowers. बाण fancies that it is as it were शशिकरकलाप (cluster of the rays of the moon) fallen there owing to तिमिरशङ्का. The idea is : Moon's rays (and even sun's rays) seek to do away with darknees whereever they find it. Hence as a rule they fall where they see darkness. Here the moon's rays (viz. the मालतीकुसुमशेखर) mistook the dark head of चन्द्रापीड for a mass of darkness; and hence fell on it. अलिकुलनीले has been differently understood by Dr. Kane who explains the idea of this sentence in the following words : 'The author fancies that the rays of the moon (that are bright like मालतीकुसुम) fell on his head thinking that there was darkness (the dark bees) thereon'. The main defect in this interpretation is that the bees will be there on the head only if the मालतीकुसुमशेखर (i. e. शशिकरकलाप) is there; but the शशिकरकलाप will be there only if the bees are there to create तिमिरशङ्का. This इतरेतराश्रय of शशिकरकलाप and तिमिरशङ्का can be avoided by taking अलिकुलनील not as a तृतीया तत्पुरुष as Dr. Kane seems to take it, but as an

उपमानपूर्वपद कर्मधारय as shown above. It is also doubtful whether in a stately procession like this bees would actually be found and allowed to hover on the मालती chaplet on चन्द्रापीड's head. l. 7 **सितातपत्रमन्तरेण** can be construed with निपतित: or better still with अभिलक्ष्यते. l. 9f **एतदस्य कर्णाभरण** etc. This sentence has again a fine उत्प्रेक्षा mingled with तद्गुण. The fact to be stated here is that the emerald ear ring had darkened the broad cheek of चन्द्रापीड. बाण in his fancy states that the cheek appeared to have as it were a शिरीष (dark) flower dangling on it to and fro hanging from the ear where it was placed by way of an ornament. Presence of शिरीष is a mere fancy invented by बाण to explain the श्यामायितत्व of चन्द्रापीड's bright cheeks. l. 9 उपरचित विकचं शिरीषकुसुमम् एव कर्णपूरः यस्मिन् तत् (कपोलतलम्). l. 10f **अयमस्य हारान्तर्निविष्टारुण** etc. This sentence has an admixture of उत्प्रेक्षा and अपह्नुति. The fact is that चन्द्रापीड has a necklace hanging from his neck and the region of his chest is rendered ruddy by the rays shooting from the rubies. बाण fancies these ruddy rays as the अभिनवयौवनराग that is seeking to enter चन्द्रापीड's heart and is, therefore, hovering thereabout under the guise of the rays. In addition to the अलङ्कारs this sentence contains a very apt reference to चन्द्रापीड's approaching youth with its attendant sentiment. 1. 10 हारस्य अन्तः निविष्टः अरुणमणिः (rubby) तस्य किरणानां कलापस्य छलेन- एतत् should be translated by 'here'.

P. 66 l. 2 **चामरकलापान्तरैः** cf. सितातपत्रान्तरेण above. किमपि is to be construed with संमन्त्र्य. l. 3 **वैशम्पायन** A dear friend of चन्द्रापीड and his co-student. He is the son of शुकनास, a minister of तारापीड. l. 3 **दशनमयूखलेखाभिः** धवलीकृतं दिक्चक्रवालं यथा स्यात् तथा. This is to go with हसितम्. l. 4 शुकस्य पक्षतेरिव हरितः राग यस्य तेन, (goes with उत्तरीयांशुकप्रान्तेन). **शुकपक्षति** A parrot's plumage. **बलाहक** This is the name of चन्द्रापीड's attendant on this occasion. तुरंगखुराणां चलनात् जन्म यस्य तं (रेणुं dust). l. 5 आलग्नम् = ईषत् लग्नम्. **अग्रकेशेषु** = केशानाम् अग्राणि अग्रकेशाः तेषु. l. 5f **लक्ष्मीकरकमल**० लक्ष्म्याः करकमलवत् कोमलं तलं यस्य असौ (चरणपल्लवः). **करकमल** = करे कमलम्. It is well-known that लक्ष्मी has a कमल in her hand. तिर्यक् and सलीलम् go with निक्षिप्तः l. 7f **अयमनेन** etc. This sentence has a fine उपमा with a pun on the word कर meaning (i) hand or (ii) trunk. दीर्घाङ्गुलिः—दीर्घाः अङ्गुलयः यस्य. आताम्र etc. (i) आताम्रः पुष्करस्य (कमलस्य) कोश इव शोभते इति (with चन्द्रापीडस्य करः); and (ii) आताम्रेण पुष्करस्य

(करिहस्ताग्रस्य) कोशेन शोभते इति (with गजस्य कर:) l. 8 शैवालकवलस्य ग्रासे लालसः. This epithet of गजस्य कर: corresponds with ताम्बूलयाचनार्थ in the case of चन्द्रापीडस्य करः। l. 9 लक्ष्मीरिव etc. लक्ष्मी i. e. राज्यलक्ष्मी and वसुन्धरा are often spoken of as the wives of a king. The would be wife of चन्द्रापीड is said to be like लक्ष्मी that would be his as soon as he becomes a king. She is said to be a co-wife of वसुन्धरा. For the earth as a wife of the king, cf. वसुमत्या हि नृपाः कलत्रिणः । रघु॰ VIII. 83; ननुः शब्दपतिः क्षितेरहं त्वयि मे भावनिबन्धना रतिः । रघु॰ VIII. 52. सपत्नी- समानः पतिर्यस्याः सा। करतलं ग्रह To marry, to get married to.

P. 67 l. 1 देवी Queen. विलासवती is the name of चन्द्रापीड's mother. सकलस्य महीमण्डलस्य भारधारणे क्षमः. This expression applies both to अयं i. e. चन्द्रापीडः and दिग्गजः. The दिग्गजs or the guardian elephants of quarters are eight in number. Their names are given by अमर in the following couplet : ऐरावतः पुण्डरीको वामनः कुमुदोऽञ्जनः । पुष्पदन्तः सार्वभौमः सुप्रतीकश्च दिग्गजाः ॥. क्षीरस्वामिन् explains the name दिग्गज as दिशां धारकाः गजाः दिग्गजाः thus showing the purpose they are intended to serve. ककुभा By the ककुभ् (= दिश्). In this sentence we have again fine protracted simile विलासवती and अयम् are the उपमेय ककुभ् and दिग्गज are the उपमानs, गर्भेण व्यूढः is the साधारण धर्म between the main उपमान and उपमेय, while सकलमहीमण्डलाभारधारणक्षमः gives us the साधारण धर्म between the subsidiary उपमान and उपमेय. इव is the उपमावाचक शब्द. Here we have thus a full उपमा.

No 7

महाभारत आदिपर्व

(३. १९-५९, ७१-७८)

A General Note :—

The importance of the महाभारत can hardly be exaggerated. It is recognised as the fifth वेद् which to the masses of India is a more living authority than the वेद् itself whose study is denied to them. It is on its own declaration an encyclopaedia containing information on almost every topic of human interest. Originally it was merely a small poem dealing with the great भारत war and with various revisions, additions and alterations from land to land and from time to time assumed its present form as the शतसाहस्रीसंहिता. The view about three editions of the महाभारत has been already referred to in the general introduction. Here we may refer to a few more curious matters about it.

In the पर्वन्s actually dealing with war we find पाण्डवs playing various tricks and thus it appears that the writers of this portion (and that must be the earliest) was pro-Kauravite. Carrying this idea to its logical conclusion scholars have evolved what is known as the 'Inversion theory' which holds that the original महाभारतs was in favour of the कौरवs and that it was later on turned in favour of the पाण्डवs by some later redactors.

As regards the study of महाभारत again there are two views. According to one set of scholars it should be studied according to the 'Synthetic Method' i.e. treating महाभारत as one work on the whole. This would mean that a conclusion drawn on the basis of evidence supplied by one part of it would hold good in the case of the whole work. This method is generally followed in the case of works of one author. But in the case of works like the महाभारत which have grown from age to age and land to land this method is not suitable. Hence other scholars adopt the 'analytical method' according to which every portion or part of the work is to be taken as a separate unit by itself, and any conclusion derived from evidence in that unit shall hold good for that unit only. But this method is easily carried to extreme

and we find scholars like Winternitz declaring that the महाभारत should be studied stanza by stanza, line by line, nay word by word and syllable by syllable. The truth, as in all cases lies in the golden mean; and the student of महाभारत should have a suitable combination of both these methods and avoid both the extremes.

Is it possible to restore the महाभारत in its pristine form? That, of course, is impossible. But the critical editors of the महाभारत are doing their best to restore the earliest possible form of the महाभारत; and this they are doing on the basis of what is known as the Critical Apparatus. Manuscripts of different ages and lands and script from the most important instrument of a critical edition. It is by a very careful collation of these that a nearer approch can be made to the pristine purity of a work. But there are other accessory materials which are of much help when MSS. fail us. Such, for example, are commentaries, translations in various languages, epitomes, recastes and last but not the least quotations. With the help of these it is often possible to say what must have been the earliest form of the text under consideration. In the case of works like the महाभारत it is impossible to restore tneir original form i.e. the pristine form in which it was composed by the original author. The only thing that is possible in such cases is to go behind the MSS. evidence as far as possible and try to fix up the form in which it must have existsed before them.

The महाभारत has eighteen पर्वन्s in all. The आदिपर्वन्, from which the present extract is taken, is, as the name suggests it, the first पर्वन्. Among other things the आदिपर्वन् contains a section known as पर्वसंग्रहपर्वन् which gives a synopsis of the contents of the महाभारत in all पर्वन्s. It was once held that this पर्वसंग्रहपर्वन् would enable us to restore महाभारत to its original form but this पर्वन् itself has been subjected to additions and alterations to such an extent that it can't be a sure ground for such critical restoration. It may be utilized as an accessory material for the purpose; but utility is quite limited by its very nature.

The extract here contains the story of a age named धौम्य आयोद and his two pupils. In this story we see how धौम्य put his pupils to very serious test and how the pupils also proved thei

worth by standing the tastes all right. The story is highly in teresting as throwing a flood of light on the relation between the teacher and the taught as it obtained in ancient India. Shorn of its exaggeration it shows how a disciple should have a firm faith in his preceptor and how the latter also must have deep love for the former. In the absence of such relation between the two no teaching can be effective.

Notes

(19) धौम्यः आयोदः This is the name of the preceptor. We are told later on that he by propitiating the अश्विन्s had secured from them कार्ष्णायस teeth. (see 75 below). शिष्यास्त्रयः Three disciples viz. उपमन्यु, आरुणि and बैद. We have in this extract stories about the first two शिष्यs only. (20) केदारखण्ड A portion of the embankment (केदार = सेतु) for stopping water from flowing away. (22) क्लिश्यमानः Pr. Part. of √ क्लिश (Pass). Exerting very hard and thus getting exhausted. अपश्यत् Saw i. e. thought of (a plan). (23) संविवेश Perf. 3rd sg of सम + √विश् to lie down, to sleep. शयान Pr. Part of √ शी 2A to lie down. शयाने तस्मिन् Loc. abs. As soon as he lay down there. उदकं तस्थौ water stayed i. e. did not flow away as before. (24) अपृच्छन् Asked. Though apparently harsh in his orders धौम्य had yet a soft heart and he would not be at ease if he did not see his pupil for some time. (26) तस्मात् etc. He proposes to go and find out आरुणि. This also shows his love for his pupil. (28) अयमस्मि Here I am i.e. Here I was. निःसरमाणम् अवारणीयम् (the water) which was flowing away and could not be stopped. विदार्य abs. of वि + दृ 10 PA. Having torn asunder. As soon as he got up, naturally the केदारखण्ड was broken up. आज्ञापयतु Mark the attitude of the disciple towards his preceptor. This is all the more noticeable in the story of उपमन्यु below. (29) उद्दालक= उद्दारयति इति This section explains the name उद्दालक connecting it with उद् + दृ (10PA) and with the story of his having got up from the केदारखण्ड allowing it to give way. (30) तस्मात् etc. This is how generally the preceptor blesses his pupil on the completion of the studies.

(33) गा रक्षस्व Tend the cows. √ रक्ष here stands for राखणें in मराठी. (Cf. गुरें राखणें = To tend the cattle). (34) अहनि All day long, during the day. दिवसक्षये At the end of the day, in the

evening. (35) पीवानम् Plump, fact. [Acc. sg. पीवन्). केन वृत्तिं कल्पयसि Note this idiomatic expression. On what do you live ? दृढम् adv. Quite. (36) भैक्ष what is earned by भिक्षा. In ancient India during the ब्रह्मचर्य pupils were to get their food by going round a few houses. This corresponds to our present day मधुकरी in मराठी. (37) ममानिवेद्य Without offering (it) to me. अनिवेद्य = अ + निवेद्य (abs. of नि + √विद् Cau.) (38) तथा (Let it be) so i.e. yes, sir. तथैव just as before. तथापि The उपाध्याय expected that he would no longer be पीवन्. But to his surprise he was still as plump as before. (39) अशेषत: without leaving any thing (for you). (40) पूर्वम् and अपरम् are adjectives of भैक्षम् to be supplied. (41) गुरुवृत्तिः गुरौ वृत्तिः And this गुरुवृत्ति is the main point which all these stories are intended to emphasize. अन्येषां वृत्त्युपरोधं करोषि when उपमन्यु begs for alms a second time it means that he is trying to have something which properly should be received by some one else. By second भिक्षाचरण, therefore, he is depriving some one else of his due. And to try to snatch away something due to some one else amounts to greed. Hence धौम्य accuses उपमन्यु of greed, saying लुब्धोऽसि. (43) अहं ते etc. Note the repetition. The epic is written in a very simple style known as the verbal styledevoid of long sentenees, involved constructions, compounds etc. which are the strong points (or rather the weaknesses) of later works in Sanskrit. (45) मयाननुज्ञातम् Note that nothing was to be taken by the disciple without the permission of his गुरु. (48) फेन foam. उद्गिरन्ति Pr. 3rd sg. of उद् + √गॄ 6P.(गिरति) to give out. गुणवन्त: Possessed of good qualities. These calves are very good natured and hence they, out of compassion for उपमन्यु give out larger quantities of फेन and thus starve themselves for him. But it is not proper for उपमन्यु to starve them like this. (50) तथा प्रतिषिद्धः Thus prohibited. This was a very severe test to which उपमन्यु is put by धौम्य. Even धौम्य is aware of this as can be seen from his remark in 53 below. अर्कपत्राणि Leaves of the अर्क plant. अर्क = रुई (in मराठी). (52) क्षारकटूष्ण etc. क्षारः कटुः उष्णः विपाकः येषां तैः or क्षाराणि च कटूनि च उष्णविपाकिनी च तथाभूतैः. क्षार and कटु may be construed with विपाक as in the former or with पत्रs as in the latter. At any rate here we have उष्णविपाकिन् which is obtained by adding इन् to the कर्मधारय compound उष्णविपाकः. This is strictly speaking, not admissible. But such expressions are often met with even in classical works. चङ्क्रम्यमाणः Pr. Part, of क्रम्

(Frequentative) moving about constantly. (53) तस्मिन्ननागच्छति Loc. abs. As he did not come. अनागच्छति अन् + आगच्छत् Pr. Part. of आ + √गम्. कुपित: This is what धौम्य expected. So he would not have minded even if उपमन्यु was angry with him for all the harshness shown by him. We can now imagine what joy he must have felt to find उपमन्यु not only not कुपित but still as much devoted to him as before! (54) गत्वारण्यं etc. This shows the softness that धौम्य had for his disciple. (57) अन्धीभूत: This is a च्वि form formed according to the rule अभूततद्भावे च्विः'. (58) अश्विनौ देवभिषजौ The twin gods who are reputed to be the physicians of the gods. Several stories are told in the ऋग्वेद which show their skill both in medicine as well as surgery. In the च्यवन कथा (Extract I c) we have already seen this aspect of these gods (60-70). These contain the स्तुति of अश्विन्s. They are not included in this extract. (71) अभिष्टुतौ P. P. P. अभि + √ स्तु 2 U. आहतु: 3rd Pr. du. of √ब्रू.

(72) नानृतमूचतु: etc. Note the polite yet firm manner of addressing adopted by उपमन्यु who is still quiet unwavering in his गुरुभक्ति inspite of what the अश्विन्s say to him against his गुरु. अनिवेद्य गुरवे For whatever he got had first to be given to the गुरु. (73) पुरस्तात् Formerly; sometime in the past. The अश्विन्s try to shake उपमन्यु's गुरुभक्ति by telling him the past incident in the life of the गुरु himself. This incident was very similar to the present one. So उपमन्यु may do what his गुरु had done then. But this attempt of the अश्विन्s was a failure. (75) गुरुवृत्ति; see 41 above. कार्ष्णायसा: made of iron (कृष्णम् अयस् = dark metal). हिरण्मया: golden. (76) उपाध्यायसकाशमागम्य note the devotion to his गुरु that is shown by this action of उपमन्यु. (78) परीक्षा test. This makes it clear that all the harshness shown by धौम्य to उपमन्यु (or even to आरुणि) was just to test his sincerity and devotion. It was customary in ancient India to put pupils to test by various means. Even to-day in every field we find that persons are not entrusted with important duties unless they stand some tests.

No. 8

A General Note on Inscription in general and Gupta Inscriptions in particular :– Inscriptions are records of various events incised on various kinds of material with a view to make the record as permanent as possible. These form a peculiar feature of India. But it may be noted that anything that is found incised anywhere cannot be called an inscription. Thus, for example, on the golden coins of the Gupta kings we find remarks like ‘ समरशतविततविजयो जितरिपुराजितो दिवं जयति or राजाधिराजः पृथिवीमवित्वा दिवं जयत्यप्रतिवार्यवीर्यः ।’ But these are nct inscriptions. They are called legends.

Various kinds of material are found used for incising the records called inscriptions. Copper is the most common among the metals used for this purpose. Kings and even queens in ancient India very often gave away large pieces of land or towns or some special rights in some particular towns or villages to some particular persons, often *Brāhmaṇas*. They naturally desired that these gifts of theirs should continue even after their death and even permanently. With this desire they genrally issued what are called the ताम्रपटs (or Copper-plate inscriptions). These plates were of a uniform thickness except along the edges where they were purposely made thicker to protect them against wearing out. Besides these plates (which numbered one or more) of uniform dimensions there was along with them one of smaller dimensions bearing on it the seal of the king or the queen issuing it. These plates were tied together by a ring also made of copper. This was calculated to give the plate the required authenticity. The number of such copper-plates discovered so far is quite large. Besides copper we find at least one instance where iron is used. The Meharauli inscripnion of Candra is incised on an iron pillar.

The most common material among the non-metals that has been used for inscriptions is stone. But even here there are several varieties. Thus some inscriptions are found on rocks,

e. g. the Junagadh Rock Inscription of Skanda-gupta). Our Selection No. 8, the Allahabad Inscription of Samudragupta, is on a pillar. Inscriptions on pillars are very common, and Bhitari, Bhilsa, and Eran may be pointed out as other instances of such inscriptions. Inscriptions are also often found on parts of caves, or on the pedestals of images, or slabs of stones fixed in walls. Thus inscriptions of Chandra-gupta II are on parts of a cave at Udayagiri ; the Sāranāth inscriptions of Kumāra-gupta and Buddha are on pedestals while in the Sāsabahū temple in the Gwalior Fort we have an inscription on a slab of stone fixed in a wall.

Inscriptions have been discovered in various parts of India. But that does not mean that the locality where a particular inscription of a particular king is found was under the sway of that particular king. For it must be remembered that the place of discovery in the case of an inscription is not always the place of its original publication. The Allahabad Inscription of Samudra-gupta is an instance of this type.

The question of the scripts in which the various inscriptions are incised need not detain us here. But we may note that in the inscriptions that have been discovered so far, dates have been found recorded in three different ways : viz. (i) by giving the year of the Kali-yuga, by deducting 3101 from which we can get the year of the Christian era ; (ii) by giving the regnal year of the particular king whose deed is recorded in a particular inscription. (The regnal year is the year obtained by counting from the year of the accession of the particular king in question.) ; and (iii) by giving the year of the particular era of the dynasty to which the king belongs. There are many such eras such as the Gupta era, the Valabhi era, and so on. To arrive at the date according to the Christian era in sach cases, it is absolutely necessary for us to know definitely the starting point of the particular era in question.

Coming now to the original objects of these inscriptions, we find that they are religious. or social pertaining to some particular events. Kings in Ancient India were highly religious-

minded and gave large gifts of land &c. on several religious occasions. Quite a large number of inscriptions is found telling us of such gifts. The more important aspect of the inscriptions, however, is that incidentally they give us also the genealogy of the ruling king and also the date on which the gifts were made. Besides these religious gifts very often donations were bestowed by king or even private individuals on some particular occasions. These have been recorded in inscriptions which give us details regarding the donor, the donee, and the donation. Such inscriptions are found over a very wide area and are also almost unlimited in number. In addition to these there are also inscriptions which commemorate a particular event, such as the conquests of kings (cf. The Allahabad Inscription of समुद्रगुप्त) or the repair of a lake &c. to save people from great danger (cf. The Junagadh Inscription of Skanda-Gupta) and so on.

Looking to these various original objects of these inscriptions and their subject-matter one can clearly realise how important they are to the historian, particularly when they belong to a period the history of which we have hardly any means to determine beyond the cavil of doubt. These are the most authentic records so far as the events described in them are concerned and more often than not help to build history by supplying us definite information about the genealogy and the dates of the various kings and particular events during their reigns. With the help of all this information it becomes possible to arrange the various dynasties and the kings belonging to them and also the various events during their reigns in their chronological order and thus give the history of the particular period. The importance of inscriptions for history can hardly be exaggerated. But there are also some other points which we must note in this connection. Many of the inscriptions contain reference to places—rivers, mountains, towns or cities and principalities; and thus help us to determine the geography of Ancient India with some certainty. From various events described in them we get glimpses into the religious, social, and political conditions of those days. Nor are the inscriptions less interesting in their literary aspect. They are many of them wholly in prose; some wholly metrical, while there are still others which are

partly in prose and partly in verse. From the point of view of style we see that many inscriptions are written in a style that would remind us of poets like कालिदास and बाण. They exhibit various poetical embellishments such as figures of speech and merits like माधुर्य and ओजस्; and thus bear a testimony to a fairly high development in the literary art. Some of the inscriptions actually mention the गुणs given and discussed by rhetoricians which also proves that literary activities in Ancient India in the early centuries of the Christian era were not at a standstill. Thus the inscriptions disprove definitely the renaissance theory propounded by Max Muller according to whom the early centuries of the Christian era were only *dark ages* and that the renaissance (or revival of learnig) took place some time about the sixth century A. D. He was evidently led to formulate his theory under the influence of Europen history. Now, of course the theory has been generally abandoned.

Having thus far dealt with inscription in general, let us now turn to the Gupta inscriptions in particular. These are so called naturally because they speak of and have been incised at the order of the Gupta kings. These are found inscised on copper-plates, and also stones in all their varieties. They deal with the various matters that have been spoken of above; and supply very valuable information regarding the Gupta kings. Not less than seventy-three of these have been discovered so far and though all of them are not dated, yet from them scholars have been able to build up a fairly succinct history of the Gupta dynasty as a whole. They are found all over India and as such help us to get a good idea of the empire built by the Guptas.

A General Note on the Allahabad Inscription of Samudra-gupta—

Appendix C gives a detailed information about the rulers of the Gupta dynasty from *Gupta,* the founder of the dynasty, upto *Skandagupta* the last of the chain of powerful emperors. A perusal of it will show that though *Candra-gupta* I very well paved the path for the foundation of a powerful empire, it was left for *Samudragupta* to lead campaigns against rulers all over India and beyond and by annexing the territories of some

reducing others to vassalage, and so influencing others as to induce them to maintain friendly relations with him, to establish a strong empire extending directly or indirectly over the whole of India. A full account of all these conquests has been faithfnlly given by हारेषेण in the Allahabad inscription. The several rulers and principalities referred to in this record have been most of them identified and an idea of the extent of समुद्रगुप्त's empire has been given in the Notes and elsewhere. There can be no doubt regarding the accuracy of the statements in this record, though some allowance may be made for exaggeration which is but natural in the work of an employee enjoying a special favour of the employer when he describes his master and his deeds and achievements. It is not, however, certain whether the events are recorded in their chronological order. The campaign of समुद्रगुप्त against the दक्षिणापथ rulers is mentioned first, while that against the प्रत्यन्तनृपतिs comes next. But it is hardly believable that समुद्रगुप्त undertook a campaign in the far off दक्षिणापथ before subduing the प्रत्यन्तनृपतिs. It would, therefore, appear that हरिषेण is not recording the conquests in their exact sequence. In giving the details of the several conquests themselves again we are confronted with the same question and it has been held by some that the names of the several rulers or principalities have been recorded in the order in which they were conquered. This is, of course, only conjectural. There are similar difficulties in the identification of the various localities and rulers mentioned by हरिषेण. Hence it becomes extremely difficult to have an exact idea about the extent of the empire built up by समुद्रगुप्त. From what definite information we gather from हरिषेण's record we can form some idea about समुद्रगुप्त's empire which has been shown in a map in *Appendix B.*

From the literary point of view also the inscription is interesting since it is written in the form called चम्पू i.e. a composition in prose and verse. If we leave aside such mixed passages in the Brāhmaṇa literature and in the तन्त्राख्यायिका, हरिषेण's record may be said to be the earliest specimen of composition in this form. The verses in this record are charming and not very difficult. Many of them are quite impressive; and the fourth verse has been admitted on all hands as one of the most beautiful verses found in Inscriptions. The prose portion

also easily reminds us of बाणभट्ट, the merits and defects of whose style to a large extent, appear to be shared by हरिषेण. In the nine verses that हरिषेण has composed for this record he has used all lengthy metres which are more suited for describing big events in a single unit but are also at the same time more difficult to handle. He seems to be very fond of स्रग्धरा which he has used in five verses (vv. 3. 5 & 8, and also the first two verses). The remaining verses are in शार्दूलविक्रीडित (vv. 4 & 7) मन्दाक्रान्ता (v.6); and पृथ्वी (the verse at the end). These metres have been handled with such ease that they easily convince us of हरिषेण's mastery over metre and also Sanskrit. Nor is he wanting in rhetorics, as we can see from the beautiful figures of speech that he has used in this record. Some of these have been noted in the Notes.

This record bears no date. But it is possible to say that it must have been incised at least some years after the accession of समुद्रगुप्त but before समुद्रगुप्त performed the अश्वमेध sacrifice no mention of which has been made here. The importance of this record can very well be realised by going through the extracts in Appendix A. The student may also read with advantage the paper on ' The Indian Inscription and Antiquity of Indian Artificial Poetry,' Original German (Dr. Bühler) translated by Dr. V. S. Ghate in Indian Antiquary, Vol. XLII (1913).

It must also be noted that the pillar on which this record is inscribed was neither fashioned nor erected during the reign of समुद्रगुप्त. It bears the famous edicts of अशोक who ruled between 273 B. C. and 232 B. C. This is enough to show that the pillar dates at least from the fourth quarter of the third century B.C. if not earlier. It is said that originally this pillar was erected at कौशाम्बी on the bank of the यमुना, near Allahabad, and that it was on its original site when समुद्रगुप्त had this record inscribed on it by तिलभट्ट. It was only sometime about 1356 A.D. that it was removed to Allahabad by one of the early Musalman kings of Delhi.

NOTES

It may be seen that from तस्य विविध &c. upto स्तम्भः (P. 78 1. 2.) we have one sentence running through twenty-nine lines containing various sections having epithets and epithets of

epithets and long compounds. The main sentence is तस्य महाराजाधिराजश्रीसमुद्रगुप्तस्य कीर्तिं आचक्षाण इव भुवो बाहुः अयमुच्छ्रितः स्तम्भः ।; and all the expressions in the Genitive are to be construed with महाराजाधिराजश्रीसमुद्रगुप्तस्य. In this long sentence we are told not only of the military exploits, but also of the numerous quali- ties of head and heart and the great glory of *Samudragupta*. विविधसमरशतावतरणदक्षस्य That this is no exaggeration ; can be easily seen from the various conquests mentioned in this very sentence below. P. 75 l. 2. परशुशरशङ्कुशक्ति &c. परशुशर....वैतस्तिकाः आदौ येषां (बहुव्रीहि) तानि च यानि अनेकानि प्रहरणानि (कर्मधारय) तैः विरूढानि (inflicted) आकुलानां व्रणानां शतानि तेषां अङ्कानां (scars) शोभायाः समुदयेन उपचितं (studded) अत एव कान्ततरं वर्ष्म यस्य तस्य. परशु, शर, &c. are the names of different weapons that were used in the days of *Samudragupta* . The exact nature of all these it is not possible to know now. शक्ति and वैतस्तिकः For an interesting description of the former cf वेणीसंहार, Act. IV, and the latter, not found in dictionaries, may be taken to mean '*a scimitar*' which is of the length of a वितस्ति. The name is to be derived from वितस्ति as वितस्तिपरिमाणं प्रहरणं वैतस्तिकम्. The word वितस्ति means primarily the distance between the tips of thumb and the little finger of a fully stretched out palm. Secondarily it is taken to mean a measure of length equal to that distance which is twelve अङ्गुलs. From this description we get a good idea of the personality of *Samudragupta*. P. 75. ll. 4-7. These lines describe *Samudragupta's* conquest of the twelve kings of *Dakṣiṇāpatha* (Deccan and South India.) It has to be noted that *Samudragupta* treated the different groups of kings that he conquered differently. The rulers forming the first group were defeated and captured and then liberated. Of the twelve kings mentioned in this list only two can be identified with some probability. विष्णुगोप was probably a king of the पल्लव dynasty, while हस्तिवर्मन् was almost certainly the king of the *Sālaṅkāyana* dynasty whose record has been found at *Peddavegi*. About the other kings we know nothing beyond their names and localities that are mentioned in the present record. The kingdoms named, however, can be located with greater certainty. Thus कोसल is certrinly दक्षिण कोसल in Central Provinces and comprises, as is shown by तीवरदेव's inscription, the districts of *Bilaspur, Raipur*, and *Sambalpur*. महाकान्तार It has been identified with Jeypore forest (Orissa)

which is referred to as महावन in an old inscription. But it is highly probable that these kingdoms have been mentioned in the order in which they were captured by *Samudragupta.* It is, therefore, more likely that महाकान्तार stands for the *Eastern Gondavana* forests and that व्याघ्रराज is a feudatory of the वाकाटकs, mentioned in the *Nachneki-talai* and *Ganj* inscriptions in Central India. Thus it would appear that *Samudragupta* 'leaving the *Jumna valley* presumably passed through *Rewa State* and *Jubbulpore* district, defeated महेन्द्र of कोसल and then entered the forest countries which still retain their ancient wilderness and constitute the *Eastern Gondavana* forest.' कौराळक means 'of कोरळ (or कुराल).' This reading of the original has been accepted (i) by Jayaswal who identifies it with *Colair lake,* (ii) by Barnett who identifies it with *Korada* and also (iii) by Kielhorn who takes it as a misnomer for *Kunala* mentioned in the Aihole inscription. Others, however, propose to read केरळक (i. e. of केरळक) and identify केरळ with *Cherala* in the *Eastern Godavari district* (Mr. Sathianathaier); with *Sonpur district* in Central Provinces (Bhandarkar). and the famous country of the south bearing that name (Prof. Gajendragadkar). It is difficult to locate केरळ with certainty, though the order in which the places कोसल, महाकान्तार, and केरळ are mentioned in this inscription would seem to support the view of Bhandarkar. पिष्टपुर is modern *Pitthapuram* in the *Godavari district.* Following Fleet we have taken the expression गिरि along with कोट्टूरक as meaning 'of गिरिकोट्टूर'. But a majority of scholars now take गिरि along with महेन्द्र and take महेन्द्रगिरि as the name of the king of पिष्टपुर. कोट्टूर has been identified with the *Coimbatore district* (Aiyangar), with *Kotturu* near *Tuni* in the *Eastern Godavari district* (Mr. Sathianathaier), and with *Kothoor* in *Ganjam district* (Dr. Dandekar). In view of the geographical position Mr. Sathianathaier's view is perhaps the most likely. एरण्डपल्ल and देवराष्ट्र were formerly identified with एरण्डोल (in खानदेश) and महाराष्ट्र respectively, and further it was held that the king of these two places were vanquished by *Samudragupta* on his way back to आर्यावर्त. This view, however, is now generally abandoned. Debreuil has shown that एरण्डपल्ल is mentioned in the *Siddhānta* plates of देवेन्द्रवर्मन् of कलिङ्ग and that देवराष्ट्र occurs as the name of a district in कलिङ्ग in a set of copper

plates discovered in *Kasim kota.* These were, therefore probably situated in the *Vizagapatam* district. Mr. Sathianathaier, however, identifies एरण्डपल्ल with *Erraguntapalle* in the *West Godavari district* ; and देवराष्ट्र with the place of that name in the *Khanapur* sub-division of the *Satara* district. Thus he holds that *Samudragupta* conquerd not only the Eastern but also Western *Deccan.* This view perhaps would appear to be more correct in view of the fact that the inscription tells us that *Samudragupta* conquered *all the kings* of the दक्षिणापथ including the twelve mentioned specifically. काञ्ची is *Conjeevaram* in the *Chingleput district* in *Madras.* अवमुक्त cannot be located with certainty though it is said to have been 'a small principality in the neighbourhood of काञ्ची and वेङ्गी'. वेङ्गी is *Vegi* or *Peddavegi,* in the *Ellore taluka* between the गोदावरी and the कृष्णा rivers. पलक्क was identified by Vincent Smith with *Palghat* to the south of the *Malabar district*. But later on he himself abandoned this identification and identified it with *Palakkada*, the capital of *Pallava viceroyalty,* probably situated in the *Nellore* district. कुस्थलपुर cannot be located with certainty, though it has been identified with *Kuttalur* in North *Arcot* by Barnett and with the region round the river *Kuśasthalī* by Aiyangar. प्रभृति shows that these were the most powerful among the rulers in the *Deccan* in the days of *Samudragupta.* सर्व shows that समुद्रगुप्त conquered not only the rulers mentioned in the list here, but several others show that no king in the south was left unconquered by him. प्रसभोद्धरणोद्वृत्त etc. It has been already noted above that different treatment was given by समुद्रगुप्त to different groups of rulers conquered by him. The king of the first group were conquered but were shown favour and released which mean that their kingdoms were not annexed by *Samudragupta* to his empire. P. 76 ll. 1. 2. Here we get the second group of kings conquered by *Samudragupta.* These are the several kings of आर्यावर्त (i.e. Northern India) of whom nine prominent rulers have been mentioned by name. Unlike the kings of the first group these kings were violently exterminated and presumably their territories were annexed to his empire by *Samudragupta.* This explains why the names of the states of these kings are not mentioned. This omission, however, has made the task of identifying the kings and their states highly

difficult. रुद्रदेव has been identified by Dikshit, Jayaswal and others with *Vākāṭaka* रुद्रसेन I of *Bundelkhand*. मतिल: The name of this king found on a clay seal discovered in *Bulandshahr*. नागदत्त appears to belong to the *Nāga* family who once ruled आर्यावर्त. He has been identified by Jayaswal with the father of महेश्वर नाग whose seal bearing the figure of a नाग was discovered at *Lahore*. चन्द्रवर्म may be identified with a king of that name mentioned in the *Sisunia rock inscription* discoverved in *Bengal*. गणपतिनाग, according to Bhandarkar, was a king of विदिशा; but more probably he was a king of मथुरा where Dr. Altekar found hundreds of coins of the king, while the number of coins found at विदिशा is only too meagre. नागसेन and अच्युत These two kings are again referred to in the introductory stanza (not included in this extract). We know definitely from this stanza that *Samudragupta* completely vanquished *Acyuta, Nāgasena*, and also a third ruler belonging to the *Koṭas*. *Acyuta* is said to have been a ruler in *Ahicchatra* (near Bareilly), while *Nāgasena* is supposed to belong to the royal family of *Nāgas* ruling at *Padmāvatī* which is identified with *Padam pawaya*, 25 miles to the north-east of *Narwar* in Gwalior State. According to some नन्दिन् is not a separate king. According to them अच्युतनन्दिन् is one word. But we already have got the name अच्युत along with that of नागसेन in stanza 7 above. It is not, however, possible to identify नन्दिन्. Nor is it possible to identify बलवर्मन्, though an attempt has been made to identify him with a king of *Assam* bearing that name. This second campaign of *Samudragupta* against the आर्यावर्त kings must have meant several engagements with each of the kings severally as there is nothing in the record itself to suggest that *Samudragupta* had to face any confederacy in आर्यावर्त or in दक्षिणापथ. It may also be noted that this campaign must have vastly enlarged the extent of *Samudragupta's* empire which now must have included 'the greater part, if not the whole, of U. P. a portion of Central India and at least the south-western part of *Bengal*.' परिचारिकीकृतसर्वा etc. परिचारिकीकृताः सर्वे आटविकराजाः येन तस्य The आटविकराजs are the kings of the forest countries. अटवि has been identified by some with विन्ध्याटवी from मथुरा to नर्मदा comprising बुन्देलखण्ड, बाघेलखंड, and रेवा. Dr. Majumdar points out that in two *Baghelkhand* inscriptions अटवीराज्यs (which are said to be

eighteen in number) are mentioned along with *Dabhāla* (territory round *Jubbulpore)*. The forest kingdoms may, therefore, be identified with 'the hilly tracts, full of dense forest, that, extended further towards the east, across the whole of *Chhota Nagpur.'* P. 76 ll. 3-5 These lines give up the next group of kings conquered by *Samudragupta.* This group is given in two sections, one section telling us the names of the localities and the second only the tribal names. समतट *South-east Bengal,* comprising the *deltas* of the *Ganges* and the *Brahmaputrā.* डवाक has been variously identified with (i) some place in *Nowgong district* in *Assam ;* (Dr. Majumdar); (ii) Modern *Dacca* (Fleet) ; (iii) The district of *Bogra, Dinajpur* and *Rajashahi* (Vincent Smith) ; and (iv) The hill-tracts of *Chittagong* and *Tipperah,* (Bhandarkar). It is almost certain that it must be a place between समतट and कामरूप. कामरूप is *Upper Assam.* कर्तृपुर again has been variously identified with (i) Modern *Kartarpur* in *Jallundhar district* (Fleet); and (ii) The *Katuria Raj* of *Kumaon, Garhwal,* and *Rohilkhand* (Vincent Smith). प्रत्यन्त-नृपतिभिः This expression shows that all the territories mentioned in this list are the lands just bordering the dominion of *Samudragupta*. मालवार्जुनायनयौधेय &c. In this section we are given the names of the various tribes that were subjugated by *Samudragupta*. Originally inhabitants of the *Punjab,* where they fought with Alexander on the *Rāvī,* the मालवs migrated to the Western India and settled in various localities. At the time of समुद्रगुप्त they probably occupied the regions of the *South-east Rajputana.* The dates of the coins of the *Malava* tribe discovered so far lie between 250 B.C. and 350 A. D. The sudden disappearence of these coins about the middle of the fourth century A. D. shows that the tribe must have been vanquished by that time by some powerful king, who, as we know from the present record, was समुद्रगुप्त. अर्जुनायनs, according to Ptolemy, were a tribe that had settled in the *Punjab.* Dr. Majumdar however, on the supposition that these tribes have been mentioned in the order of the geographical position of their localities, holds that this tribe may be placed between भरतपुर and *Eastern Rajputana,* somewhere near *Jaipur.* यौधेयs also are mentioned by Ptolemy as a tribe in the *Punjab.* Dr. Majumdar tells us that this tribe inhabited modern *Johiyabar* on the *Sutlej,* though once upon a

time it held sway over a very wide area upto *Kangra* in the north *Sharanpur* in the east and *Bharatpur* in the south. माद्रका: ruled between the *Rāvī* and the *Chenab* and had their capital at *Sākala* (modern *Sialkot)*. आभीरा: ruled in some parts of the *Western Rajputana*. But our record very probably refers to another settlement which this tribe had in *Central India* and which was called *Ahirwara* (between *Bhilsa* and *Jhansi)* after it. प्रार्जुना: Vincent Smith locates them in the *Narasingpur district ;* but if the tribes are mentioned in the order of their geographical position, they may be located to the north of *Bhilsa*. Nothing, however, is known about this tribe beyond the name. सनकानीका: very probably live near *Bhilsa*, as a ruler of this tribe has been mentioned in an inscription at *Udayagiri* near *Bhilsa*. This ruler as well as his father and grand-father bore the title महाराज, which according to Dr. Majumdar, shows that the सनकानीकs and probably other tribes in this group, were not tribal republics, as is generally supposed, but were ruled by hereditary chiefs. काका: are said to have lived near Bhilsa on the strength of the fact that there is near it a place called *Kākapur*, and that the *Sanchi* hill also is known as *Kākanada*. खरपरिका: Bhandarkar locates these in the *Damoh district* in C P. But both these identifications are rather doubtful. आदि at the end of long list of nine tribes shows that समुद्रगुप्त conquered many more tribes in the north. The fact that these tribes are mentioned together with the प्रत्यन्तनृपतिs has been explained in two different ways. According to one set of scholars it shows that these tribes, like the kings mentioned along with them, are also प्रत्यन्त tribes. Others however, hold that the tribes are mentioned along with the प्रत्यन्तनृपतिs merely because they both acted in the same way when they were attacked and defeated by समुद्रगुप्त. Both these views have got some truth in them. P. 76. l. 5. सर्वकरदानाज्ञा &c. सर्वकरदानं आज्ञाकरणं प्रणामागमनं च एतैः परितोषितं प्रचण्ड शासनं यस्य तस्य. This shows how the rulers in the third group, of their own accord, tried to please and propitiate समुद्रगुप्त in three different ways viz. सर्वकरदान, आज्ञाकरण, and प्रणामागमन. P. 76. l. 6. अनेकभ्रष्टराज्योत्सन्न &c. अनेकें भ्रष्टराज्याः उत्सन्नाः च ये राजवंशाः तेषां प्रतिष्ठापनाद् उद्भूतं निखिलभुवनविचरणेन शान्तं यशः यस्य. This shows the charitable nature of समुद्रगुप्त. This idea of reinstating old extinct royal families on their respective thrones

may also have some political motive behind it, though we are told that thereby समुद्रगुप्त acquired world-wide fame. Lord Wellesley reinstating the scion of the old Hindu Royal family on the throne of Mysore after the fall of Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan may be cited as parallel instance from modern history. समुद्रगुप्त, however, reinstated not only one but several royal families in this way which certainly can't be said to be actuated by mere political motives P. 76 l. 7. This is the fourth group of kings conquered by समुद्रगुप्त. These appear to be independent or semi-independent rulers. There is, however, some difference of opinion regarding the interpretation of the compound expression. As for the first part comprising the first three epithets there are two views. All are agreed that these are the well-known titles belonging to the kings of the *Kushan dynasty*. But according to some they all refer to only one of them, while others hold that three different kings are referred to by the three titles. 'Although supported by great authorities, this (i. e. the latter) view seems hardly justified by available evidence, and the probability rather is that reference is made here to a *Kushan* ruler exercising sway over *Kabul* and part of the *Punjab,* and possibly other territories further to the west '. शक This well-known tribal name has upto-now been taken to refer to the *Western Kṣatrapas.* But the discovery of श्रीधरवर्मन's inscription (319 A. D.) at *Sanchi* by Marshall makes it highly probable that this श्रीधरवर्मन (or his successor) is referred to in this record of समुद्रगुप्त. मुरुण्ड Here again scholars are divided in their views. Sylvain Levi and Allan regard this expression as signifying a prowerful foreign tribe, while Sten Konow believes that this is only a title borne by *Kushan* rulers and means *'Lord'* . According to this view the expression शकमुरुण्ड denotes the *Western Satraps.* According to a third set of scholars मुरुण्ड is the name of a powerful foreign tribe ruling in the *Upper Gangetic Valley.* Thus ultimately it may be said that the fourth group is speaking of the *Śakas* and the *Kushans* of the west and the rulers of Ceylon and several other islands. P. 76 ll. 7-8 आत्मनिवेदनं &c. आत्मनिवेदनं कन्योपायनदानं गरुत्मदङ्कं स्वविषयभुक्तेः यत् शासनं तस्य याचनं च एतानि आदौ येषां तैः उपायैः या सेवा तया कृतः बाहुवीर्य प्रसरेण धरणिबन्धः यस्य. This long compound speaks of some of the means employed by

कुशान and शक and other rulers to show their submission to समुद्रगुप्त. As we have dissolved the compound above and as it has been generally interpreted, it speaks of only three such means viz. (i) आत्मनिवेदन, (ii) कन्योपायनदान ; and (iii) गरुत्मदङ्कस्वविषयभुक्तिशासन-याचन. The first of these means *'self surrender.'* Dr. Majumdar translates the second as *'presenting unmarried daughters and giving them in marriage'* and the remarks that 'it is not easy to distinguish between the two, for it is unreasonable to think that these rulers would present their daughters for any other purpose than marriage. But all this is unnecessary ; for the word कन्या merely means a *virgin* and not necessarily a *daughter.* Thus the whole expression giving the second उपाय merely means, *'by offering maidens as presents.'* It is but well-known that it was customary in India till recently to offer maidens as presents to the kings. The third section of the compound as we have dissolved it means 'requesting (समुद्रगुप्त) for charters bearing the seal of an eagle, for the government of their own territories'. According to the others this section denotes not one but two उपायs : (i) request for charters for (using the Gupta coin) having the symbol or mark of an eagle ; and (ii) request for the goverment of their own territories. In this case the expression शासनयाचन has to be connected with गरुत्मदङ्क and स्व-विषयभुक्ति separately, the two latter expressions being taken to mean to separate ideas. It may be noted here that in this interpretation the expression गरुत्मदङ्क has to be dissolved as a बहुब्रीहि compound and taken to denote a coin which is not actually expressed by any word in the record. In our translation we have split up the compound in still different manner and taken it to denote two different उपायs and not one. Thus we take गरुत्मदङ्कस्वविषयभुक्ति as one उपाय and शासनयाचन as another. The latter simply means asking for commands i. e. always showing their readiness to obey the commands of समुद्रगुप्त. In the former we take the expression गरुत्मदङ्क to stand not for *a coin bearing the* गरुड *symbol,* but *a banner with the figure of an eagle thereon.* To use the flag of a king or a nation is certainly one of the ways of showing one's submission. Even now we see that the conquerors hoist their flag on the land they have conquered. From this point of view this particular section of the whole compound can

be dissolved as गरुत्मदङ्केन (ध्वजेन) स्वविषयस्य भुक्तिः i. e. (allowing) the enjoyment of one's own territories by the (flag bearing) the mark or symbol of an eagle i. e. the flag of the गुप्तs. To us this last mode of interpretation appears to be the best because it avoids the redundancy of the expression गरुत्मदङ्क which vitiates the first and the usually accepted interpretation. For where is the necessity to use that expression as an adjective of शासन when the शासन of समुद्रगुप्त would invariably be गरुत्मदङ्क ? There is moreover the दूरान्वयदोष ; for गरुत्मदङ्क which is an adjective of शासन has been separated from it by स्वविषयभुक्ति. We should rather have स्वविषयभुक्तिगरुत्मदङ्कशासन. In our interpretation, however, this difficulty does not crop up at all, for the author has expressed the idea indirectly by referring to the symbol thereon. The second interpretation also is rather unnatural because it is not necessary to seek premission for using the coins of a particular king. From this glowing description of the submission of शक and other rulers to समुद्रगुप्त it would appear that former accepted suzerainty of the latter. But it is argued that it is hard to decide whether this description represents facts as they happened or is a mere 'boastful rhetoric on the part of the panegyrist.' The inclusion of the distant island of Ceylon and several other islands raises grave doubts in this connection. Chinese tradition, however, has preserved for us an account of one embassy of *Meghavarṇa,* a king of Ceylon, to समुद्रगुप्त requesting to be allowed to build a monastery at *Bodha Gaya.* This shows that हरिषेण is stating facts as they happened and that it would be rather unjust to accuse him of having indulged in exaggeration, in this part of his record, particularly when we find that he has done nothing like that in any other part of the inscription. P. 76 l. 9. The description of the glowing conquests more than justifies the epithet अप्रतिरथ as applied to समुद्रगुप्त. P. 76 l. 9f. सुचरितशतालङ्कृत &c. समुद्रगुप्त was not only a matchless warrior but also a man of good deeds and also of exuberance of good qualities which brought him such a wide glory that he could easily throw into background the glory of other kings. P. 76; l. 10f. साध्वसाधूदयप्रलय &c. साधूनां असाधूनां च उदयस्य प्रलयस्य च हेतुः (हेतुभूतः). पुरुषः Note that उदय and प्रलय go with साधु and असाधु respectively. By means of अर्थश्लेष here and by using particularly the epithet

अचिन्त्य, the author wants to identify समुद्रगुप्त with God विष्णु. For the idea of God विष्णु (or कृष्ण) being the हेतु of the उदय and प्रलय of the साधुs and the असाधुs, cf. परित्राणाय साधूनां विनाशाय च दुष्कृताम्। धर्मसंस्थापनार्थाय संभवामि युगे युगे। भ० गी० IV, 8. P. 79 l. 1. भक्त्यवनतिग्राह्यमृदुहृदयभक्तियुक्ता अवनतिः तया ग्राह्यं मृदु हृदयं यस्य तस्य. This section also applies to God विष्णु. अनेकगोशतसहस्र &c. shows the piety of समुद्रगुप्त. P. 77, l. 2 मन्त्रदीक्षा has been dissolved as मन्त्रसहिता दीक्षा and translated as *initiation accompanied by the recital of proper stanzas ; consecrated initiation.'* But thus interpreted the expression suffers from tautology, for दीक्षा is generally accompanied by recitation of proper मन्त्रs, so that there is no point in using the word मन्त्र before दीक्षा. Better construction would be to connect मन्त्र with what precedes to form a कर्मधारय compound कृपणदीनानाथातुरजनोद्धरणं एव मन्त्रः तस्य दीक्षा. The उद्धरण of कृपणदीन &c. is itself the मन्त्र of which समुद्रगुप्त had taken the दीक्षा. It is but well-known that religious-minded persons often approach a spiritual *guru* and take from him the दीक्षा of some मन्त्र, which they have to recite as often as they can or if possible continuously. Here also what हरिषेण means is that समुद्रगुप्त had as it were taken the दीक्षा of the मन्त्र in the form of the उद्धरण of कृपण &c. which is only a figurative way of saying that he kept himself constantly busy with the task of the उद्धरण of such persons. P. 77 l. 3. धनदवरुणेन्द्र &c. In this expression हरिषेण very probably has before his mind's eye the actual qualities of समुद्रगुप्त which likened him to these several gods. धनद is कुबेर who is well-known as being possessed of the highest riches, which he bestows on others. समुद्रगुप्त also was possessed of immense wealth and being of a charitable disposition bestowed it on his subjects. वरुण is well-known as the god of moral law and is said to punish the offenders very severely. समुद्रगुप्त also, we know, was a man of strong moral attitude (cf. धर्मप्राचीरबन्ध &c.) and severely punished the offenders in this respect (साध्वसाधूदयप्रलयहेतु &c.). इन्द्र is the famous *war god* of the Vedic pantheon performing marvellous feats. Nor was समुद्रगुप्त a whitless in this respect as can be easily seen from the glowing account of the conquests given in the present record. From the point of view of physique also समुद्रगुप्त can very well stand comparison with इन्द्र, अन्तक. It can be easily seen how समुद्रगुप्त must have appeared like the God of Death to his enemies. It is on account of these common quali-

ties that समुद्रगुप्त has been declared by हरिषेण to be a compeer of धनद, वरुण, इन्द्र and अन्तक. He does not seem to have before him the idea that a king is possessed of portions of the chiefs of the gods as expressed in मनुस्मृति VII. 3--5. For the gods mentioned there are इन्द्र, अनिल, यम, अर्क, अग्नि, वरुण, चन्द्र and वित्तेश i. e. कुबेर. Had हरिषेण this list before his eye here he would at least have inserted the word आदि in this compound and written धनदवरुणेन्द्रान्तकादि etc. It, therefore, does not seem likely that हरिषेण is here basing his idea on मनुस्मृति. P. 77. l. 3f. स्वभुजबल &c. This shows the charitable disposition of समुद्रगुप्त even towards his enemies. P. 77. l. 4f. निशितविदग्ध &c. निशिता, विदग्धा च मतिः गान्धर्वललितानि च तैः व्रीडिताः त्रिदशपतिगुरुः तुम्बुरुनारदादयश्च येन तस्य. This compound speaks of two more qualities of समुद्रगुप्त viz. निशितविदग्धमति and गांधर्वललित by possession of which he put to shame त्रिदशपतिगुरु (i. e. बृहस्पति) and तुम्बुरुनारदादिs respectively. It is well-known that बृहस्पति, the precepter of the gods (or rather इन्द्र) is the ideal of wisdom and that तुम्बुरु, नारद and others are celestial singers. Thus the compound ultimately means that he was possessed of the highest intellect and was very well up in music. Proficiency of समुद्रगुप्त in music is very well attested to by some of his coins whereon he is represented as seated comfortably on a sofa and playing on a lyre. P. 77. l. 5f. विद्वज्जनोपजीव्या &c. समुद्रगुप्त had composed several works (not neceesarily poems, for in Sanskrit the expression काव्य applies equally well to prose as well as poetical compositions) which were विद्वज्जनोपजीव्य. The expression विद्वज्जनोपजीव्य has been translated by Dr. Majumdar as *that were fit to be the means of subsistence of learned people.* This means that the compositions were of such high order that such compositions could very easily win a happy subsistence for the learned. It may be remembered that in those days learned people received royal patronage. The expression may, however, be interpreted in another way also. The compositions of समुद्रगुप्त were of a very high standard and as such even the learned could draw upon them. The expression उपजीव्य is often used in this sense in Sanskrit literatune. This latter interpretation is perhaps better because it shows that the compositions of समुद्रगुप्त were even superior to those of the learned persons. P. 77. l.6 The expression कविराज (king of poets) has been taken to be a technical term indicating proficient in more than one languages. But it

is doubtful whether that technical sense is intended here. हरिषेण perhaps merely means that समुद्रगुप्त was the best of poets and as such had easily won and firmly retained the title कविराज (the king i.e.the best of poets). Unfortunately no work of समुद्रगुप्त has been preserved for us even in quotations. P. 77 l. 6f. सुचरित &c. In this compound हरिषेण tells us that समुद्रगुप्त performed several marvellous and noble deeds thus suggesting that he was an extraordinary person. P. 77. l. 7. All the description that has been given upto now of the various qualities of head and heart and also physique, possessed by समुद्रगुप्त, can't fail to impress upon the reader the idea that समुद्रगुप्त must have been more than an ordinary human being. This very idea has been expressed in the last section of his description of समुद्रगुप्त's qualities by हरिषेण by way of climax. लोकसमयक्रिया &c. He was a human being only in so far as he followed the conventions of the people. लोकधाम्नः...लोकः (भूलोकः) धाम (निवासस्थानं) यस्य तस्य. P. 77. ll. 8-10 These lines give us the pedigree of समुद्रगुप्त beginning from his great-grand father. P. 77. l. 7. महाराज It may be noted that only the first two गुप्त kings bore the title महाराज, while the rest took up the title महाराजाधिराज. Some scholars hold that the title महाराज denotes that the first two गुप्त kings were only feudatories of some other powerful emperors, and it was only the later गुप्तs from चन्द्रगुप्त I onwards that enjoyed the position of independent sovereigns and emperors. There is, however, no positive evidence to hold than the first two गुप्तs were only feudatories. The difference in titles may merely suggest that चन्द्रगुप्त I and other गुप्त emperors had greater and sronger sway over a much wider territory and over several feudatory monarchs with the first two गुप्त kings were wanting in. श्री in all these names should be translated by *Illustrious*. The fact that the term श्री is prefixed to each of the names given here is enough to show that the first name in this list as given by हरिषेण must be गुप्त only and not श्रीगुप्त. And this गुप्त must be understood to be the founder of the गुप्त dynasty since the list begins with him only. For full information about these गुप्त kings see Appendix C below. P. 77 l. 9. लिच्छविs. One of the most powerful clans of Ancient India, date from the days of *Buddha* and have been mentioned by कौटिल्य and मनु in their works. It is very difficult to locate their territory with certainty. In the days of *Buddha* they had

settled in वैशाली and in the early centuries of the Christian Era they founded a kingdom in Nepal. But the reference to Nepal among the conquered localities in this record makes it more probable that at that time the लिच्छविs were located in *North Bihar* with वैशाली as its centre. मनु speaks of the लिच्छविs as व्रात्यs or apostates which makes it unlikely that the गुप्त took pride in their connection with the लिच्छविs on account of their being an ancient clan. It is more likely that the matrimonial alliance of the गुप्तs with the लिच्छविs was mainly political and had brought to the former not only great power and influence but also very wide territory. It is perhaps just to show and emphasize his right to the vast territory of the लिच्छविs that समुद्रगुप्त's relation with the लिच्छविs through his mother has been purposely mentioned in this record. P. 77 l. 10 सर्वपृथिवीविजय etc. The long list of the various kings and principalities conquered by समुद्रगुप्त leaves no doubt about the veracity of this statement. विजयजनितोदय etc. The fame that arose out of the conquest of the whole earth soon pervaded the whole earth and naturally went up to Heaven. P. 78 l. 1. त्रिदशपति etc. A misunderstanding of this section led Fleet to declare this inscription to be posthumous. But this view is not right for; this section merely tells us that समुद्रगुप्त's fame went up to Heaven and had an easy and graceful stroll there. Such descriptions of the fame of kings going to Heaven is too common in Sanskrit literature. For an exact parallel to our section cf. आरूढमद्रीनुदधीन् वितीर्णं भुजङ्गमानां वसतिं प्रविष्टम्। ऊर्ध्वं गतं यस्य न चानुबन्धि यशः परिच्छेत्तुमियत्तयालम् ॥ रघु० 6. 77. It may be easily seen that the first half of this stanza graphically describes how the fame pervaded the whole of the earth and the second tells how it went up to Heaven and enjoyed an unhampered stroll there. P. 78 l. 1f. In this last portion of this long sentence we have a very fine उत्प्रेक्षा or poetical fancy. The construction is अयं उच्छ्रितः स्तम्भः तस्य कीर्तिं आचक्षाणः भुवः [उच्छ्रितः] बाहुरिव [अस्ति]. This lofty pillar is as it were the arm of the earth raised aloft to proclaim समुद्रगुप्त's fame sauntering in Heaven after having pervaded the whole of the earth. P. 78 ll. 4. 6. This stanza contains a very beautiful simile wherein the glory of समुद्रगुप्त has been compared to the holy water of the *Ganges*. The main point of comparison here is पुनाति भुवनत्रयम्; though the expression अनेकमार्गम् also contains a point which is common to

both यशः as well as गाङ्गं पयः. P. 78 l. 3. प्रदान &c. प्रदानं भुजविक्रमः प्रशमः शास्त्रवाक्यं च एतेभ्यः उदयः तैः This line gives us the four different sources from which समुद्रगुप्त's fame rose up. These sources have been amply illustrated in the long sentence above. P. 78 l. 4. उपर्युपरिसञ्चयो etc. उपर्युपरिसञ्चयेन उच्छ्रितम्. The fame had become lofty on account of its being piled up heap upon heap. अनेकमार्गम्-अनेके मार्गाः यस्य तत्. This constitutes one of the points of similarity between यशः and गाङ्गं पयः. For the fame has many paths just like the water of the *Ganges* which also flows along three different paths viz. स्वर्ग, मृत्यु i. e. भूलोक and पाताल. It may be remembered in this connection that the *Ganges* is also called त्रिपथगा. P. 78 l.5. But the main point of comparison is contained in the first two words of this line The capacity of the water of the *Ganges* to purify sinners is but a well-known fact to every Hindu. In this connection a reference may be made to a paper entitled *'Use of Ganges' Water by Muslims Rulers from* A.D. *1090 to 1800'* of my friend Mr. Gode (published in the Annals of S. V. Oriental institute, Tirupati, 1940). In this paper Mr Gode has shown that the water of the *Ganges* really has got some medicinal qualities. P. 78 l. 5f. पशुपतेर्जटान्त etc. Here we have an instance of a सापेक्षसमास like गङ्गायाः सलिलक्लिन्नः or युवतिजनकथामूकभावः परेषाम्; पशुपतेः जटायाः अंतः (अन्तर्भागः) एव गुहा तस्या निरोधात् परिमोक्षः तेन शीघ्रम्. Here there is a reference to the story of how agreeing at the request of भगीरथ, to come down to the earth, the *Ganges* in her pride thought of shattering the earth by here force, but had her pride humbled by God पशुपति i.e. शिव at the request of भगीरथ himself. To humble her pride शिव received her into the coil of his matted hair in which she got so entanglad that she could not come out at all. It was again at the request of भगीरथ that she was liberated and allowed to go down to the earth. निरोधपरिमोक्षशीघ्रम्. It is but natural that one who is released from confinement should run with great speed. पाण्डु It is a fact (and not merely a matter of poetical convention) that the water of the *Ganges* is white and that of the *Jumna* is dark. This can very well be realised by a look at the confluence of these two rivers at *Allahabad*, an enchanting sight indeed. P. 78 ll. 7-9. In these lines हरिषेण gives full information about himself and expresses a desire that this composition of his may lead all beings to happiness. P. 78 l. 7. काव्यम् The term काव्य in Sanskrit is applied

not merely to metrical composition but to prose compositions as well. The present composition is a mixed type of composition in prose and verse, a type which is known as चंपू which is defined by विश्वनाथ as गद्यपद्यमयं काव्यं चम्पूरित्याभिधीयते। भट्टारकपादानां This expression refers to समुद्रगुप्त. भट्टारक means 'Master'. The term पाद् is added just to give expression to the great respect that हरिषेण had for समुद्रगुप्त. समीपपरिसर्पणानुग्रहो etc. His intellect bloomed i. e. was fully developed or, better still, derived its inspiration from the favour of समीपपरिसर्पण, bestowed on him by समुद्रगुप्त. P. 78. 1. 8. खाद्यटपाकिक appears to be a title of हरिषेण. But we have no means to ascertain what it exactly signifies. P. 78. 1. 8. महादण्डनायक literally means *a great leader of forces* which may mean *a great commander or a commander-in-chief*. But the fact that in the last line of this record तिलभट्ट (evidently a contemporary of हरिषेण) also is called महादण्डनायक shows that the expression can't be taken in the latter sense, unless we suppose that there were many Commanders-in-chief. It is better, therefore, to take the expression to mean merely *a great commander or general*. P. 78 1. 8f. सन्धिविग्रहिक i, e. सन्धिविग्रहयोः अधिकृतः Entrusted with peace and war, Foreign Minister. P. 78 ; l. 9. कुमारामात्य Councillor of the prince. P. 78 l. 10. In this line we are told who inscribed this record on the pillar. अनुष्ठितम् literally means *performed* or *executed*. Here of course, it means that *the actual work of engraving this record on the pillar was supervised*. परमभट्टारकपादानुध्यातेनअनुध्यातौ परमभट्टारकपादौ येन. Thus dissolved the compound has to be understood as belonging to the आहिताग्नि class where in the order of the member of the compound is reversed. We may perhaps avoid this irregularity by dissolving this compound as a तृतीयातत्पुरुष compound: परमभट्टारकपादैः अनुध्यातः where अनुध्यातः may be taken to mean *taken care of*. It should be noted that पाद् in the expression परमभट्टारकपाद does not mean 'Foot' as it has to be taken when it is dissolved as an आहिताग्नि समास. We already have the expression in line 7 above where as we have seen पाद् is added to show respect. It is thus only that the plural परमभट्टारकपादानां can be easily explained. Here then it would be better to interpret the expression परमभट्टारकपाद in the same way in which we have done it above.

APPENDIX A

(Extracts from A New History of Indian People, Vol. VI

edited by Dr. Majumdar and Dr. Altekar)

Towards the close of the third and the beginning of the fourth century A.D. there was no paramount political power in Northern India and it presented the spectacle with usually follows the disintegration of an empire. The whole country was divided into a number of independent states both monarchical and non-monarchical. Two of these in Eastern India, *viz.*, the Lichchhavi state and the principality founded by Gupta, were united by a marriage alliance, and Chandragupta I, grand-son of Gupta and son of Ghatotkacha, ruled over a powerful kingdom which probably included not only the modern province of Bihar, but also parts of U.P. and Bengal. He signalised his increased power and prestige by changing the title *Mahārāja* used by his father and grand-father for the higher imperial title *Mahārājādhirāja* and probably also by founding an era.

It is a pity that nothing is known of the heroic deeds by which Chandragupta paved the way for the future greatness of his kingdom. But one of his acts, which perhaps contributed more than anything else in this direction, was the selection of his son Samudragupta as this successor, who built on the foundation, so well laid by him, a noble structure that has immortalised his family.

This brief account (i. e. the genealogy of Samudragupta given in the Allahabad Inscription) not only gives the names of the first three kings of the dynasty, but indirectly also supplies, very valuable information about them. In the first place, the contrast between titles *Mahārājā* of the first two kings and the *Mahārājādhirāja* of the third (and his successors) cannot but be regarded as deliberate, indicating a difference in rank and status. It has been held that, 'in the early Gupta and subsequent periods the title *Mahārāja* was applied only to feudatories, not to independent sovereigns.' This view, however, can hardly be accepted as correct.

The epithet *Lichchhavi-dauhitra* applied to Samudra-gupta in the Gupta records down to the latest period seems to suggest that marriage of Chandra-gupta I, with the Lichchhavi (princess) Kumāradevī was an event of considerable importance. It is to be remembered that the Mānava-dharma-śāstra (X. 20, 21) regards the Lichchhavis as descendants of Vrātya Kshatriya. It appears more probable, therefore, that the marriage alliance of Chandra-gupta I was highly important from a political rather than social point of view.

This view gains considerable strength if we carefully weigh the evidence of a class of coins which have on the obverse the figures and names of Chandra-gupta and Kumāradevī, and on the reverse a goddess seated on a lion along with the legend Lichchhavayah (the Lichchavis).' On the basis of the available evidence, we may reasonably assume that the marriage of Chandra-gupta and Kumāradevī led to the amalgamation of the Gupta principality with the Lichchhavi state, and the epithet *Lichchhavi-dauhitra* was deliberately given to Samudra-gupta to emphasize his right of succession to the dual monarchy.

The location of the two states is a matter of considerable difficulty. It is very likely that the Guptas and Lichchhavis ruled over two contiguous states which were amalgamated by the marriage of Chandra-gupta and Kumāradevī. We may regard a portion of North and West Bengal as forming a part of the Gupta territory, and North Bihar as that of the Lichchhavis.

The fourth verse of this (i. e. the Allahabad) inscription refers to a memorable scene in the court of Chandra-gupta I. It is generally assumed that the above verse refers to the selection of Samudra-gupta as heir-apparent by Chandra-gupta. But literally interpreted, the passage would rather imply that Chandra-gupta I, formally renounced the throne and appointed his son as a king. It may, no doubt, be argued that in order to put a stop to all dangers for the present and future, the king, perhaps in the presence of all, nominated Samudra-gupta as his successor. But the view that Chandra-gupta I abdicated the throne in favour of his son Samudra-gupta is also not unlikely and is probably hinted at even in Ins. No. 4. (i. e. Eran Stone Inscription of Samudra-gupta).

The fact that the court-official Harisena referred to this incident, with clear emphasis on the displeasure of the rival princes, although it happened long ago, may not unreasonably be taken to imply that it contains allusions to an historical event attended by important consequences. It has accordingly been suggested that Samudra-gupta's brothers rebelled against him, and put Kācha, the eldest, on the throne. It is perhaps possible to detect some reference to the political disturbance at the beginning of the reign of Samudra-gupta in the fragmentary verses (5 and 6) which describe how some were attracted to him by his extraordinary deeds of valour, and others submitted after being afflicted by his prowess. But the precise implications of these vague statements are unknown at present.

The Allahabad inscription gives a very detailed account of the conquests of Samudra-gupta. The seventh verse refers to important military achievements of Samudragupta, but we are unable to understand the full implication, as part of the verse is lost. After this account of the first military campaign of Samudra-gupta follows a long list of kings, states and peoples who were conquered by him and acknowledged his suzerainty. These are clearly divided into four categories, and the relation of each with Samudragupta is described in different terms.

The first category includes twelve states of *Dakṣiṇapatha* (Deccan and South India) with the names of their rulers who were defeated and captured, and then liberated. The second category contains the names of nine rulers of Āryāvarta (Northern India) who were violently exterminated. Here we must presume that their kingdoms were annexed to the dominions of Samudra-gupta. To the third category belong the rulers of five kingdoms, expressly referred to as frontier chiefs, and nine tribal states, who paid taxes, obeyed orders, and performed obeisance in person to the great emperor.'

The identification of the four states (out of the none mentioned in the second category) would show that Samudra-gupta's dominions included the greater part, if not the whole, of U. P. a portion of Central India, and at least the south-western part of Bengal. If we now consider the positions of those states in the third category whose identification is more or less certain, and regard them all as situat-

ed on the frontier, we may form a fairly accurate idea of the extent of the territory under the direct rule of Samudra-gupta. In the east it included the whole of Bengal, excepting its south-eastern part. Its northern boundary ran along the fothill of the Himalayas. In the west extended upto the Punjab and probably included its eastern districts, between Lahore and Karnal. From the last named town the boundary followed the Jumna river upto its junction with the Chambal, and thence along an imaginary line passing by the west of Marwar almost due south to Eran. Inscription No. 4 definitely proves that Eran in Saugor district C. P., about 50 miles to the N. N. E. of Bhilsa was included in the dominions of Samudra-gupta. The southern boundary ran from Eran to Jubbulpore and thence along the Vindhya range.

In the course of his southern campaign Samudra-gupta passed through the eastern and southern part of the Central Provinces to Orissa, and then proceeded along the eastern coast up to the Pallava kingdom of which Kanchi was the capital. Doubts have been expressed as to his actually proceeding so far south and it has been suggested that he fought with a confederacy of these southern princes somewhere further to the north. This, however, is a gratuitous assumption, which seems to be belied by the detailed mention of the kings defeated by him.

The fourth category consists of a few independent of semi-independent principalities.

The above discussion enables us to describe the nature and extent of the empire of Samudra-gupta with an accuracy and fulness of details which are rare in Ancient Indian history. It comprised nearly the whole of Northern India with the exclusion of Kashmir, Western Punjab, Western Rajputana, Sindh and Gujarat, together with the highlands of Chattisgarh and Orissa and a long stretch of territory along the eastern coast extending as far south as Chingleput and probably even further. Of the vast territories, a considerable portion of Northern India, more accurately defined above, was directly administered by the emperor through his own officials. This was surrounded on all sides except the south by an almost continuous line of tributary states, five kingdoms on the north and east, and nine tribal states on the west mentioned above. The twelve conquered king-

doms in the south also probably occupied the same status. Beyond these tributary states, lay the Kushāṇa and Śaka principalities on the west and north-west, and Ceylon and other islands in the south and south-east whose rulers were within the sphere of influence of the empire and, even if not actually subordinate, maintained a respectful and submissive attitude towards their powerful neighbour and endeavoured by all means to win his grace and favour. Thus was 'the (whole) world bound', as the courtly author puts it by means of the amplitude of the vigour of the arm' of Samudra-gupta.

The organisation of the conquered territories reflects great credit upon the statesmanship of Samudra-gupta. The Allahabad inscription clearly demonstrates that he was inspired by the vision of an all-India empire. But he did not attempt the almost impossible task of bringing the whole country under his direct rule. At the same time he established a strong central authority, sufficiently powerful to check the disruptive tendencies of smaller states and their mutual dissensions which had proved to be India's ruin in the past. By a ruthless campaign he extinguished the numerous petty states contiguous to his own dominions and carved out a big empire. But he was not intoxicated by his success. He did not follow the Kautiliyan policy of establishing one imperial sway over all and try to annex the frontier kingdoms like East Bengal, Assam and Nepal which were hard to conquer and still harder to retain as the Muslim and British rulers of India were to realise at a later date. Towards the distant tribal states on the western frontier he adopted the same policy, specially perhaps as they were buffer states against the foreign rulers like the Śakas and Kushāṇas. By retaining these frontier states as faithful tributaries, he added to the defensive strength of the infant empire. The rulers of the states in South India were made to feel the weight of the new power but were conciliated by a wise and liberal policy. Solid and lasting foundations were thus laid for a great imperial fabric on which the successors of Samudra-gupta were to build in future.

Brilliant as a general, Samudra-gupta possessed many qualities which are more suited to a life of peaceful pursuits. It is unreasonable to accept all that Harisena says of his royal patron's qualities of head and heart at its face value, but, even making due allowance for exaggeration in royal

praśastis, no doubt is left of the striking personality of Samudra-gupta.

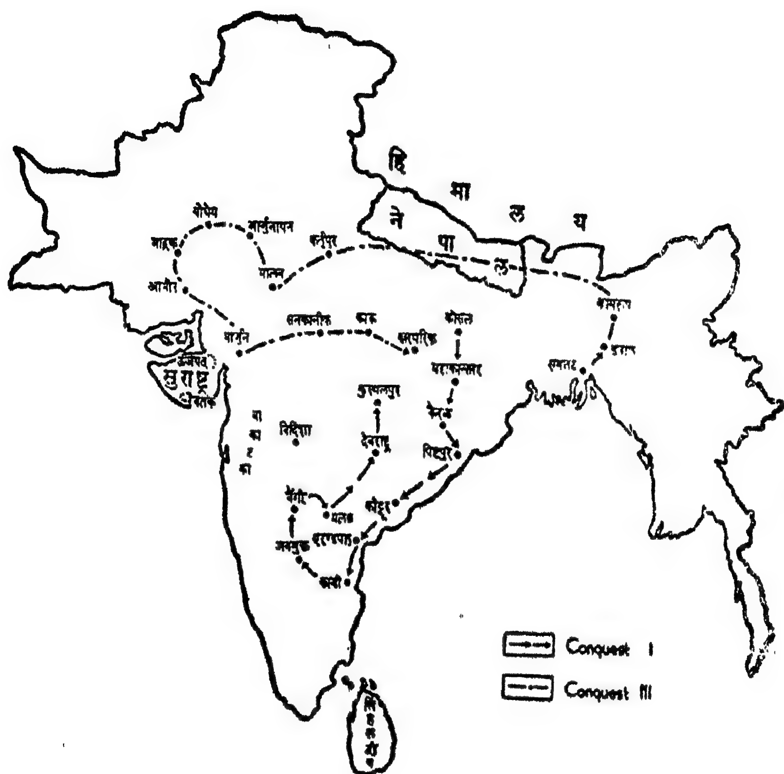
Harisena lays special emphasis upon Samudra-gupta's learning and wisdom, sharp and polished intellect, and above all his poetical and musical talents. Harisena also refers to Samudra-gupta's charity and kindness, even to conquered kings. 'He was a great patron of learning and by his liberal munificence removed the eternal discord between good poetry and plenty. His devotion to religious duties and sacred scriptures is referred to, and he is said to be the giver of many hundreds of thousands of cows, evidently as gift to Brāhmaṇas.

The rich variety of gold coins issued by Samudra-gupta not only indicate the power, wealth and grandeur of his empire, but also give us some idea of his appearance and a fair insight into his personal qualities. The personal appearance of the king, so far as we can judge from his figure on the coins, is also fully in keeping with the idea we otherwise form of him. Of tall stature and good physique, his body is marked by strong muscular arm and fully developed chest.

Samudra-gupta must have had a fairly long reign. He died some time before 380 A.D., the earliest known date for the reign of his son Chandra-gupta II, probably before 376 A.D. It is difficult to determine, even approximately, the year of his accession. It depends largely on the solution of the question, who founded the Gupta era. If, as is generally assumed, the Gupta era dates from the accession of Chandra-gupta I, Samudra-gupta probably did not come to the throne till about 350 A.D. But there is no positive evidence to support the theory that the Gupta era was founded by Chandra-gupta I or dates from the first year of his reign, and it is equally likely that the era dated from the accession of Samudra-gupta, the greatest of the Gupta emperors. It would thus follow that while there is much to support the view that Samudra-gupta ascended the throne in 320 A.D. or c. 300 A.D. there is little justification for the date 325-335 A.D. usually assigned to his accession.

APPENDIX B

'A Map of India showing the conquests of समुद्रगुप्त described in the Allahadad pillar Inscription of समुद्रगुप्त. (No. 8).



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APPENDIX C

Genealogy of the Guptas (upto *Skandagupta*)

(with some information about eaoh)

गुप्त [महाराज]

[The founder of the dynasty, which was named after him. His date is uncertain].

|

घटोत्कच [महाराज]

[It seems that this king had not affixed the dynastio name Gupta to his name. It is only from चंद्रगुप्त I that the dynastio name गुप्त appears to have been affixed to the names of the गुप्त kings and emperors, His date also is uncertain.]

|

चन्द्रगुप्त I [महाराजाधिराज] (315-328 A. D.)

[He married the *Licchavī* princess *Kumāradevī*. This matrimonial alliance brought about tho union of *Licchavī* state with the principality founded by *Gupta* making the whole a powerful kingdom. It is to signalise his increased power and prestige that he orowned himself an Emperor and assumed the title of महाराजाधिराज instead of the simple महाराज assumed by his father and grand-father. He is said to have ruled from 315-328 A.D.

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समुद्रगुप्त [महाराजाधिराज] (328-376 A.D.)

[This most powerful and most illustrious Gupta Emperor was possessed of several qualities of head and heart. Besides learning and wisdom, he was also possessed of sharp and polished intellect, and poetical and musical talents. Himself a poet of no mean order, he was a great patron of learning, and was charitable and kind even to conquered kings. He was devoted to religious duties and sacred scriptures and gave hundreds of thousands of cows to ब्राह्मणs. Brilliant as a General and a statesman and possessed of a great power he led five campaigns against the inimical princes that surrounded him and conquered and subjugated them all, exterminating some of them and annexing their territories to his own empire. The others remained exremely submissive obeying his orders offering

presennts and offering even their daughters to him. It is on account of all these qualities that he was chosen as the heir-apparent by his father to the extreme joy of all, but to the dejectien of other claimants of equally noble birth. He was married to दत्तदेवी and is said to have ruled from 328 A. D.–376 A. D. This illustrious Emperor is the hero of the Allahabad Pillar Inscription, our Selection No. 9.]

चन्द्रगुप्त II [परमभट्टारक महाराजाधिराज] (376-414 A. D.)

[A worthy son of a worthy father, *Chandragupta II,* like his father carried a military campaign towards the south-western part of his empire and put an end to the dominion of the foreigners, who occupied the soil of India for the longest period and added the rich provinces of Kathiawar and Northern Gujerat to his already wide empire. *Dhruvadevī (or Dhruvaswāminī)* was his chief queen. But he also married *Kuberanāgā,* the Nāga princess, whose daughter, प्रभावतीगुप्ता, was married to the वाकाटक King, रुद्रसेन II. These matrimonial alliances were deliberately made with a political motive, like the matrimonial alliance made by his grand-father. He is said to have ruled from 376 A. D. to 414 A. D. 'He thus enjoyed a fairly long reign of more than thirty-six years. His reign saw the consolidation of the गुप्त empire and if we may credit the stories about विक्रमादित्य as applicable to him, it also witnessed an outburst of intellectual activity which had made the गुप्त Age, the classical age or the golden age of India.'].

कुमारगुप्त [महाराजाधिराज] (414-455 A. D.)

[Son of Dhruvadevī, enjoyed a long and prosperous reign from 414 A.D. to 455 A.D., but for a great crisis that he had to face in his lost days. One of his adversaries became too powerful and constituted a grave menace to the empire. But scales were turned in his favour by the crown-prince स्कन्दगुप्त who inflicted a crushing defeat upon his adversary.].

स्कन्दगुप्त [परमभट्टारक महाराजाधिराज] (455-467 A. D.)

[He ruled from 455 A. D. to 467 A. D. In the beginning of his reign he had to face great menace in the form of the onrush of a Barbarian tribe 'who had crossed the Indus, carrying devastation and destruction all around.' This tribe has been identified with हूण (who are noted for atrocities) but not on very sure grounds. This conquest was very important indeed and people all over the empire heaved a sigh of relief when they realised what a great scourge of barbaric invasion they were saved from. He had to face a continual stress of wars all through his reign and he found himself unable to offer the same resistance as before. The *Kuhaum* pillar inscription of 460 A. D., however, describes स्कन्दगुप्त, as the lord of hundred kings, enjoying a peaceful reign over a vast empire. He had appointed governors of different provinces soon after coming to the throne; and one of them, पर्णदत्त, and his son चक्रपालित, who saved the country from a great disaster by repairing the सुदर्शन lake, form the heroes of the Junagadh Rock Inscription. स्कन्दगुप्त was the last of the line of the illustrious गुप्त emperors; and soon after his death in about 467 A. D. 'the mighty empire which he left in peace and security crumbled away almost before the eyes of the existing generation.']